DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 298 282 CE 050 785

AUTHOR Burgess, Charles; Zhu, Guangli
TITLE The Marriott Philosophy at Work: A Study of Corporate Success with the Handicapped. Project TROPHY. Transition Research on Problems of Handicapped Youth.
INSTITUTION Washington Univ., Seattle. Coll. of Education.
SPONS AGENCY Department of Education, Washington, DC.
PUB DATE 88
CONTRACT 300-85-0174
NOTE 80p.; For related documents, see CE 050 783-784.
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Business Responsibility; Career Education; *Corporate Support; *Disabilities; *Education Work Relationship; *Employment Practices; Employment Programs; *Job Development; *Job Training; Mental Retardation
IDENTIFIERS *Marriott Corporation

ABSTRACT

This monograph examines the Marriott Corporation, which has won numerous awards for its involvement in creating employment situations for the handicapped. Part 1 examines the Marriott Corporation in its wider economic, political, and religious contexts, including its founding by a Mormon family. Part 2 addresses central features of the Marriott handicapped employment program, with a focus on the mentally retarded worker. A discussion of work in the "least dependent environment" considers hiring the handicapped, training the handicapped, and the individual worker approach versus the enclave approach. The benefits of the system for everyone involved are also highlighted. Appendixes include a description of the Marriott Corporation Handicapped Employment Program, a list of awards the corporation has received, and a listing of over 50 selected sources. (YLB)

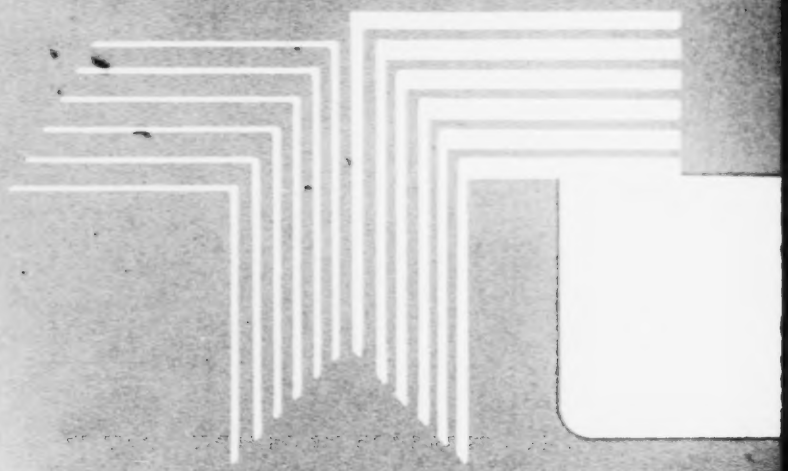
****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

THE MARRIOTT PHILOSOPHY AT WORK:

A STUDY OF CORPORATE SUCCESS WITH THE HANDICAPPED

ED298282

CHARLES BURGESS
GUANGLI ZHU



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

T R O P H Y

TRANSITION RESEARCH ON PROBLEMS OF HANDICAPPED YOUTH

HD5715.2 .B85

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

THE MARRIOTT PHILOSOPHY AT WORK:

A STUDY OF CORPORATE SUCCESS WITH THE HANDICAPPED

CHARLES BURGESS

AND

GUANGLI ZHU

FOREWORD

BY

WILLIAM J. SCHILL

University of Washington
Seattle, Washington, 1988

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TRANSITION RESEARCH ON PROBLEMS OF HANDICAPPED YOUTH

Contract Number 300-85-0174 RFP 85-107

William J. Schill, Principal Investigator

THE MARRIOTT PHILOSOPHY AT WORK

August 1988

Transition Research on Problems
of Handicapped Youth
University of Washington
300 Miller Hall, DQ-12
Seattle, Washington 98195
(206) 543-1836

FOREWORD

Much of the effort to place handicapped youth in jobs can be considered supply side effort. Educators worry about what skills and abilities youth need to acquire in order to be acceptable to employers. Demand side effort to place handicapped youth concerns itself with encouraging employers to consider the handicapped when searching for new hires. Tax incentives are an attempt by the federal government to increase demand.

This monograph examines a corporation which has won numerous awards for its involvement in creating employment stations for the handicapped. The hope is that this examination will provide insights into ways concerned citizens and educators can approach employers to increase demand for handicapped employees.

The activities that led to this monograph were supported in part by the U. S. Department of Education (Contract 300-85-0174). However, the opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the U. S. Department of Education and no official endorsements by the Department should be inferred.

Additional copies of the monograph in printed form or on MS/DOS floppy discs may be obtained from the address below.

William John Schill
Principal Investigator
Project TROPHY
300 Miller Hall, DQ-12
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington 98195

INTRODUCTION

The Marriott Corporation enjoys a well-deserved reputation as one of the strongest and best managed companies in two related businesses: the food and lodging industries. Its 97,000 hotel rooms make it a leader in the hotel field. Its postcrash market value, estimated at $4 billion, is ten times its value in 1979.

The Corporation is also a national leader among employers of handicapped persons. Its handicapped hiring programs stand as models of success. Other employers have promoted "sheltered workshops" and have found that, in enclaves apart from the public and separated from "normal" workers, the handicapped are a productive force. But the Marriott Corporation's work with the handicapped--including even the severely mentally retarded--has regularly made them a part of the integrated workforce. Much of the work in food service and hotel maintenance is low-level skill work, called "secondary labor" by the economists and "dead-end work" by the laity. The employee turn-over rate is notoriously high. The Marriott Corporation has found the handicapped to be a dependable and stabilizing factor within the company. Handicapped employees, managers will point out, usually find satisfaction with jobs that are reputedly dull. They take pride in their employment. There is said to be a mutual profitability to the handicapped program: benefits accrue to the Corporation and to the employee alike.

Why is the Marriott Corporation so far ahead in its handicapped hiring program? It is only a partial answer to note that the Corporation is a government contractor subject to Section 503 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and Vietnam Era Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act of 1974, which require "government contractors to take affirmative action to employ and advance in employment qualified individuals with disabilities and Vieatnam era veterans." As a government contractor Marriott is required to have a handicapped program; but the government does not require that program to be of any special size or intensity. Rather, the Corporation has taken a special stand. The handicapped program has become part of what we have called the Marriott philosophy. The program remains effective even while the Corporate headquarters gives Directors of Human Resources at each property a long leash with which to develop the program. Our profile of the Marriott Corporation seeks to examine some of the premises upon which the program is built. Before we begin, a word is in order about the development of the Marriott enterprise.

Sixty Years of Growth

In 1927, what was to be the Marriott Corporation began as an A&W root-beer stand in Washington, D. C. run by a young man fresh from Utah, J. Willard Marriott. To make up for the seasonal lag in trade that year, Marriott won an unusual concession from A&W that permitted him to sell food as well as drink. Two years later, tireless work by Marriott and his wife Alice resulted in the incorporation, under Delaware law, of his enterprise known as the Hot Shoppes. The new business not only survived the crash of 1929 but continued to prosper throughout the depression years. Soon there were six Hot Shoppes in greater Washington. D. C. and new shops were opening in Baltimore and Philadelphia. Drive-in service was added. To insure profits, Marriott implemented strict financial controls over

his operations, organized food preparation with standardized menus, and supplied his restaurants from a central commissary.

By 1937, the Marriott enterprise had expanded into the commercial airline trade. Marriott began serving the first airline meals on a regular basis. With his box lunches he literally started the airline catering business. In 1957, Marriott attached 360 guest rooms to his Hot Shoppe adjacent to National Airport and created the Marriott Twin Bridges Motor Hotel. Not only did the Twin Bridges offer drive-up registration, free parking, and swimming facilities among other amenities, it also provided a meeting and convention center, thereby pioneering in the modern hotel convention-trade business. Marriott was now in the hotel business as well as the restaurant business. And in 1953 Marriott went public.

The business underwent some major changes in the 1960s. In 1964, the name of the business was changed to Marriott Hot Shoppes, Inc. and J. Willard Marriott, Sr., soon curtailed his daily role in the company by appointing his son, J. Willard ("Bill") Marriott, Jr., to the presidency of the corporation. Three years later, under the even more aggressively ambitious leadership of Bill Marriott, the company became simply the Marriott Corporation. The senior Marriott's skepticism of the stock market no longer guided the company's fortunes.

J. W. Marriott, Sr., died in 1985, at the age of 84. His older son, Bill Marriott, born in 1932, continues as chairman of the board and president of the corporation. His mother, Alice Sheets Marriott, is a vice-president of the corporation. Bill Marriott's brother, Richard Edwin Marriott, meanwhile, is vice-chairman and executive vice-president of the Corporation. The sense of the Marriott enterprise as a family operation continues. It constitutes the Marriott philosophy. Much of the success of the Corporation in integrating the handicapped, including the mentally retarded, in its regular workforce is a tribute to this philosophy.

Accordingly, our study has two parts. In Part One we examine the Marriott Corporation in its wider economic, political, and religious contexts. In Part Two we address central features of the Marriott handicapped employment program, with a focus on the mentally retarded worker. Those who prefer to begin with the handicapped employment program before considering its philosophical underpinnings might prefer to turn first to Part Two. Throughout, we have tried to avoid unnecessary technical terms and special professional conventions. While some professionals argue against the use of "mentally retarded" as a noun, for example, and advocate the exclusive uses of the adjectival form ("mentally retarded persons") and prepositional form ("people with mental retardation"), we have used all three forms interchangeably. Those in the field who share our preference for the wider range of choice (and who use the noun forms of such terms as "expert" and "professional") simply believe it is possible to avoid a soporific pitfall without sacrificing respect for the essential humanness of mentally retarded people.

A Word of Appreciation

We are pleased to acknowledge our gratitude to many members of the Marriott corporate family in several states and the District of Columbia. We begin by thanking Pam Farr, the Marriott Corporation Director of Equal Employment Opportunity and Affirmative Action, who graciously greeted us on our first visit to corporate headquarters and put us in touch with her colleague Edward Sloan. Our special gratitude goes to Edward Sloan, the Senior Equal Employment Opportunity Representative for the Marriott Corporation, who helped us think more productively about our interests, who generously opened doors for us at

Marriott sites and who, all the while, gave us a free hand with our inquiry. At every Marriott property we met hospitable and perceptively candid men and women who patiently gave us their time and frank views on the hiring of the handicapped. In return for their genial hospitality and in honor of their candor we extend to them our special thanks as anonymous participants in our project. The Marriott people with whom we visited, from Pam Farr and Edward Sloan to that cheerful kitchen helper in a property thousands of miles from corporation headquarters, impressed us as friends of more enlightened opportunity for the handicapped.

Fendall Yerxa helped us immensely by letting us press the penultimate draft of this study into his seasoned editorial hands. Thomas Lovitt read earlier drafts of selected chapters and offered heartening encouragement. Other associates, including Donald Leton, Yue-Qin Li, Rosemarie McCartin, Ernest G. Miller, and Denney Rutherford also made appreciated contributions to our project.

Our abiding indebtedness is to William J. Schill, the Principal Investigator of the Transition Research on Problems of Handicapped Youth (TROPHY) project, who conceived the idea for this study and convinced us to undertake it. From the preliminary stages of this monograph, through the months of site visits and research, to its final draft, we found Dr. Schill's encouragement inspirational and his critical insights invaluable. It was a privilege to have been associated with him and the TROPHY project.

Finally, when the thanks have been said and before our friends see what uneven use we might have made of their suggestions, there remains the obligation to acknowledge that any surviving mistakes in this study, whether of fact or interpretation, can be charged only to us.

C. B.
G. Z.
July 1988

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword: William J. Schill i

Introduction ii

PART ONE: ***The Marriott Corporation and the World of Work***

I. "THE BUSINESS AND OUR CHURCH..." . . 1

The Marriott Family and The Rise of Mormonism 1
Making Mammon Serve God 5
Being Both Mormon and Non-Mormon 9
The Rank and File View--From Stage-Center 10
Implications for the Handicapped 15

II. PROFILE OF AN ENTREPRENEURIAL STYLE . . 20

A Survey of the Business Context 20
A Mormon Fusion of Capitalism and Communalism 25
Marriott and the Servants of Power 30

PART TWO: ***A View of The Marriott Handicapped Employment Program***

III. WORK IN THE "LEAST DEPENDENT ENVIRONMENT". 33

Hiring the Handicapped 35
Training the Handicapped 36
The Individual Worker Approach Versus the Enclave Approach 39

IV. EVERYBODY WINS. 45

The Pursuit of Elusive Happiness 46
The Blur Between Cooperating and Surrendering 49
Realists and Dreamers 51

Appendix A 61

Appendix B 65

Selected Sources 69

I

"THE BUSINESS AND OUR CHURCH..."

The devoutly Mormon Marriott family presides over what is in effect a religious corporation. Their church, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (also referred to as the LDS Church or Mormon Church) is in effect a corporate religion. Top policy decisions within the Marriott Corporation are regularly guided and constrained by Mormon religious teachings; and members of the Marriott family are regularly consulted to guide the economic interests of the Mormon Church. The two groups hold one another in mutual esteem. And both, often working in tandem, are remarkably effective in politics. The Mormon influence in the corporate world and in the political arena justifies its reputation as a powerful institution in American life. As George Gallup, Jr. recently reported, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints...is clearly having a profound impact on the United States as a whole."[1] Mormonism is rooted in the American experience; and the Marriott family has long been connected with Mormonism.

The Marriott Family and The Rise of Mormonism

In 1823 the angel Moroni visited Joseph Smith and led him to inscribed golden plates buried near Palmyra, New York. Later, with the aid of divine inspiration and two stones (the Urim and the Thummim) set in silver bows, Smith translated the inscriptions and produced therefrom *The Book of Mormon*. In 1830, Smith and five followers formed the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Over the next score of years, the Church grew rapidly, seeming to thrive on Gentile (non-Mormon) persecutions. Hostile Gentiles drove them from a temporary gathering center in Ohio, to Missouri, and then to Illinois where, in 1844, Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were killed by a mob.

Marriott ancestors were strong Mormons in the days of Joseph Smith's leadership. The father of J. Willard Marriott, Sr. bore the name Hyrum Willard in honor of Joseph Smith's

brother and Dr. Willard Richards, who was with Joseph and Hyrum in their last hours. And Marriott ancestors were among those driven westward by mobocracies.

Upon the death of Smith, Brigham Young assumed leadership of the Church and, in 1847, led the Mormons to a region on the western slopes of the Rocky Mountains, a land then under Mexican sovereignty. A year later the Mormon-occupied region was ceded to the United States under the treaty of Guadaloupe Hidalgo. For two years the Mormons vainly petitioned the United States government for admission as a State. In 1850, the federal government instead formally established the region as the Utah Territory and appointed Brigham Young governor. Hyrum Willard Marriott's father, John, came by wagon among the early settlers who followed Young into the new territory. John's wife-to-be, Elizabeth, was one of those legendary faithful who had joined a handcart company. She walked a full 1600 miles to Utah "barefoot and carrying her shoes, because she wanted to have a pair to walk in when she reached the streets of Zion."[2]

Not until 1896, nearly a half-century after the Mormons' first petition to the Gentile federal government, did statehood come to Utah. Hostile territorial relations between the Mormons and the federal government marked the entire intervening period, especially in the post-Civil War era of Reconstruction.[3] National leadership opposed the theocratic framework of Mormonism as well as such Church practices as polygamy. Extreme and repressive action resulted as federal agents worked to reduce the theocratic grip of the LDS Church on the Utah territory. Government agents encouraged Gentile immigration to Utah--and intimidated prospective Mormon immigrants--in order to weaken Mormon political influence in the territory. Women's suffrage was abolished as a means to halve the Mormon vote. Gentile agents took over the territorial schools and promoted national norms for public schooling in the territory. The LDS Church was stripped of its corporate status and Church properties were confiscated. Congress passed the Edmunds Act in 1882 which declared polygamy illegal in United States territories, the guarantees of the First Amendment notwithstanding. Not until 1890, however, did the President of the Church issue a manifesto banning polygamous (or plural) marriages. Finally in 1896, satisfied that the besieged Mormons were no longer involved in "immoral and un-American" practices and were now chastened and ready to live in "conformity with American standards," the federal government accorded statehood to Utah.[4]

J. Willard Marriott's grandfather, John Marriott, had been one of those Mormons who followed Brigham Young's example in the practice of polygamy. John had had four wives-- Trezer, Susanna, Margaret, and the aforementioned Elizabeth. He was arrested by

Gentile agents in 1887 and accused of violating the provisions of the Edmunds Act. John pleaded guilty and was sent to the Utah Penitentiary, where he served six months.[5]

The twentieth-century Church--as well as its Marriotts--has tried to sustain its original ideals and, at the same time, to gain respectability in a world dominated by Gentiles. The theocratic goal, for example, has stood firm. Theocracy remains "a fundamental goal of Mormonism and a subject of Mormon education." Believing that America is destined to be the center of a Kingdom of God under Mormon dominion, Mormons also logically believe that God expects them to "assume political and economic control of the United States." In the post-millenial Mormon view, Christ's Second Coming will not be totally unexpected, like a thief in the night. His Mormon followers believe that they must first prepare the way for His Second Coming. The stage must be properly set. The LDS Church, then, continues to be "dedicated to 'this worldly' change aimed at establishing a communally owned and operated business empire and a theocratically ruled, unified world society."[6]

But the building of a business empire has had its costs. In the estimation of some Mormons it has diluted the pure communalism of primitive Mormonism with competitive Gentile standards of success. One LDS scholar, Marden Clark, sees this compromise as having sapped the spiritual vitality of the Church. Clark laments that his Church has "placed a good deal of emphasis on success, both monetary and otherwise. It is no accident that some of the best known of the new breed of financial advisors are Mormons. All those hundreds of talks on success are both symptom and cause. So is our intense preoccupation with and honoring of the wealthy, the famous, the champion. We almost canonize our Willard Marriotts, our Johnny Millers, our Danny Ainges, our Osmonds.... I can't help wondering if some of the things we glory in most don't get twisted to support the easy-money hunger."[7] Ironically, however, such material success "is precisely what must happen, according to the Church's ambitions for a literal Kingdom of God on earth ruled by the Saints."[8]

The Mormon Church has finally earned a spot of respectability and prominence in a Gentile world. But it continues to be wary of that once-hostile world. Over the present century, in its celebration of corporate power, it has continued to prefer to deal with Mormon businessmen "who knew the language and idiosyncracies of the church's growing economic bureaucracy." For this and other reasons Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley see the Mormon Church as "a strikingly unique phenomenon, a culture within a culture, a society within a society, a demi-nation within a nation."[9]

Impressive tangible signs of success have marked the Mormon trail in the twentieth century. Scarcely more than a century and a half ago there were only six Mormons in the world. In the 1980s, the Mormon Church enjoys an international membership of nearly six million people. Church leaders expect the present membership figure to more than double by the year 2000. "Mormon membership on the average has doubled every 15 years since World War II, but from 1970 to 1985, it nearly tripled in size. In many places it has grown considerably faster. In the United States, for example, the Texas and Georgia membership doubles every ten years; Pennsylvania's membership doubles every nine years."[10]

No church in America can match the economic base of the LDS Church. Its land holdings alone, more than 928,000 acres, are larger than the state of Rhode Island. At Brigham Young University the Church operates "the largest private religious university in the world...." In the field of communications, the Church owns more media (radio and television stations, satellite dishes, newspapers, presses, and related media interests, e. g.) than any other religious group in the world. It is currently "the largest private satellite video network owner in the world" and has the capability to tie into "any cable system in North America."[11] A recent estimate of the worth of its media properties was set conservatively at "more than half a billion dollars." By all counts, the Mormon Church is indeed "a widely diversified and profitable conglomerate."[12] Although the Church avoids public disclosure of its wealth, publicly accessible records put the total assets of the Church--in lands and buildings, archival and library holdings, insurance companies and communications properties--at close to eight billion dollars. Annual Church income from all sources by the mid 1980s was approximately two billion dollars. It is worth noting, also, that the LDS Church owns 300,000 shares of Marriott Corporation stock.[13]

The 1980s, and the Reagan era, brought the LDS Church to unprecedented heights of political influence at the national level. Through the current leadership of its politically conservative Prophet, Ezra Taft Benson, the Church has close links with the Moral Majority, the John Birch Society, Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum, and the Freeman Institute.[14] In many federal spheres, but especially in communications, education, and labor, church members have attained prominence. A Church Apostle and former President of Brigham Young University (BYU), Dallin Oaks, is chairman of the Board of Directors of the The Public Broadcasting System (PBS). Another former President of BYU, David Gardner, recently chaired the commission that produced the profoundly economic "Nation at Risk" report on American education. A Mormon directs the National Association of Public Television Stations (NAPTS), the lobbying group for PBS. Arch L. Madsen, also a

member of the LDS Church, directed Radio Free Europe until 1983 when he received a presidential appointment to the Board for International Broadcasting. In the early 1980s the Voice of America was headed by another Mormon, James Conkling. Both of Utah's Senators, Orrin Hatch and Jake Garn, are devout members of the Church. (The effective Hatch presides over the Labor and Human Resources Committee which oversees the Departments of Labor, Education, and Health and Human Services. He is also the United States delegate to the International Labor Organization in Geneva. Garn fills a similarly powerful senatorial role. He is the chairman of the Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee and serves on the Senate Appropriations Committee.)[15]

The Washington, D. C. area, with over 35,000 Church members, is the seat of the largest concentration of Mormons east of the Mississippi River.[16] It is also the headquarters of the Marriott Corporation.

Making Mammon Serve God

It was Reed Smoot who "established Mormon legitimacy in national politics."[17] An LDS Apostle from Utah, Smoot was elected to the United States Senate in 1902. The Senate, however, refused to seat Smoot until a Senate Investigating Committee had probed Smoot's Mormon ties and laid to rest the nagging suspicion that the Mormons continued to endorse polygamy as a secret practice. Three years later, the Senate finally voted to seat Smoot, in spite of the objections of its still-suspicious Investigating Committee. Once seated, Smoot established a distinguished thirty-year career as a leading conservative in the Senate. He was Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, an author of the important and fateful Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act, a friend of Republican presidents, and a popular figure on the Washington scene. And in 1930, Smoot married Alice Taylor Sheets, the mother-in-law of J. Willard Marriott, Sr.

Two years later, caught up in the spirit of Roosevelt's landslide victory over Hoover, Utahns turned their backs on Smoot, electing a Democrat to the Senate seat Smoot had held for so long. Smoot and his bride returned to Utah after making arrangements for J. Willard Marriott and his wife, Alice Sheets Marriott, to move into Smoot's stately Washington mansion with its five extra bedrooms, circular staircase, and elegant dining room. By accepting Smoot's invitation, the Marriotts inherited what fellow Mormons considered the most important home in greater Washington. Indeed, for many years "the social and

religious life of the Mormon community centered around the Smoot home." Smoot had symbolized the wisdom of the Mormon insistence that the Saints be politically active. By word and deed, he had encouraged other Mormons to come to the Washington area. Sometimes the plum of a government job awaited the newly arrived Mormon. J. Willard Marriott himself had once been one of the young Mormons who "followed the church's counsel that political activity was an important civic responsibility and flocked to Washington to join ...[Smoot's] circle."[18]

Marriott honored the reputation of his new home. Along with his prospering work, he labored for Mormons in that regional district (or "Stake"). In 1948, he succeeded Ezra Taft Benson as President of the Washington, D. C., Stake. While Benson served as Secretary of Agriculture in the Eisenhower years, Marriott and Dwight Eisenhower became close friends. In 1969--and again in 1973--Marriott served as GOP Chairman of the Inauguration for Richard Nixon. Alice Marriott, meanwhile, was similarly involved. She served, for example, as Republican National Committeewoman and repeatedly acted as Treasurer of the Republican National Conventions, while continuing in executive service to the Marriott Corporation.

J. Willard (Bill) Marriott , Jr., has continued his father's spiritual, economic, and political interests. He is seen as "one of the major business advisors of the church" and as one of the "critical participants in church policy matters." [19] Not only have key figures in the Mormon media world, such as Nathan Eldon Tanner, been closely advised by Marriott, the Marriott family itself has moved into communications. Under the logo "First Media" the Marriott family owns ten AM and FM radio stations, "mostly in large metropolitan areas." Torbet Radio, which sells air time for the Marriotts, was formerly entrusted with the handling of all the LDS Church's media advertising through Bonneville International, the Church's communications conglomerate. Bonneville International, which is still the broadcast arm of the Mormon Church, also controls nine additional church-owned corporations, and, among other holdings, controls two television stations, twelve radio stations, a Hollywood movie studio, and a full-time news bureau in Washington, D. C.. A line of interconnections weaves back and forth linking the Mormon Church, the Marriott Corporation, and national politics with intriguing patterns of shared interests. It is an open weave and simple. It represents the typically American, straightforward pooling of energy on projects dear to the hearts and wallets of both groups.

There are interesting parallels in the development of the Marriott Corporation under Bill Marriott, Jr., and the LDS Church over the last generation. In 1958, Bill Marriott was

named vice president in charge of hotels; and six years later became president of the Corporation. In those years Bill Marriott departed from his father's more cautious management style by plunging the corporation into temporary debt (after careful market research justified aggressiveness) with a massive building campaign, adding hotels and other properties at a remarkable rate through deficit spending. This protracted and bold expansionist campaign made the Marriott Corporation a major force in American economic life.

It was at this precise time--in the late 1950s and early 1960s--that the LDS Church, under the economic management of Henry D. Moyle, also became a deficit spender. With the motto, "Spend Now, Tithe Later," the LDS Church "established its current reputation as a wealthy and powerful institution."[20] The rapid growth brought new strengths to the Church; but it also threatened to transform the Church into an impersonal bureaucratic holding company with a weakened claim on the souls of its followers. Harold B. Lee, a General Authority under President David O. McKay, launched what has been called a "revolution" to stop the slide of the Church into a faceless bureaucracy. In his plan, called "Correlation," were key elements of the Marriott family's strategy to save its own corporation from impersonal facelessness. Like his father before him, Bill Marriott often lives out of a suitcase. He visits each Marriott property regularly and frequently to keep face-to-face ideals and loyalties alive and well and to press the flesh of all Marriott employees in America and abroad. Through the personal touch Bill Marriott seeks to strengthen loyalties to the company. The velvet glove of humanizing the company admirably reinforces the corporate grip on each property and thereby sustains centralized control of policy and insures the continued effectiveness of Marriott philosophy.

Similarly, Lee's "Correlation" plan also aimed to counter the unwanted side effects of massive growth by strengthening allegiance to church doctrine. A "Correlation Committee," formed in 1960, worked to protect the family unit. A "Home Teacher Program" was established. Each month families in every ward were visited by Church representatives and details of their financial and spiritual welfare were openly discussed. "This gave the church the opportunity to better examine the daily lives of its members outside the context of their regular church activities, to serve their needs, and to reinforce its sense of control and authority." A companion program, "Family Home Evening," was also instituted. In this program Monday evenings were set aside by all Mormons, to be devoted to family meetings on Church doctrine and family problems. Finally, a "Correlation Board Room" was created to train new generations of Church leaders. The

far-reaching impact of "Correlation" put an end to the autonomy of local auxiliaries and promoted more centralized control within the Church. Thus did the Church combat the threat of an errant membership. In principle, and even if only accidentally, "Correlation" resembled the Marriott plan to tighten corporate control over a rapidly sprawling enterprise. By heightening the sense of personal participation, both organizations tightened central controls.[21]

To a remarkable extent, the Church has managed to remain a face-to-face organization. One of the keys to its material success has been its effective appropriation of corporate management style. It eagerly took lessons from such successful businessmen as the Marriotts and others in the business world. In the Marriott style, contemporary church leaders have become "cosmopolitan men of affairs, spending countless hours living out of their briefcases and on airplanes."[22] Wealthy businessmen, athletes, and entertainers--"our Willard Marriotts, our Johnny Millers, our Danny Ainges, our Osmonds"--have won the applause of contemporary Mormonism. Artists and intellectuals, slackers and upstarts win Mormon suspicion and disdain. The economic premium is on loyalty and obedience in the interests of spiritual and pecuniary gain. By the late twentieth century, the religious corporation and the corporate religion spoke a shared idiom. The Marriott Corporation and the LDS Church had "absorbed the ideals of the moralistic, small-town, laissez-faire capitalism of an earlier era and fused them with the doctrine of [Adam] Smith, the economics of Wall Street, and the politics of a resurgent conservatism...."[23]

Theocracy remains embedded in these absorbed ideals. Bill Marriott recently reminisced about growing up in a family "where the business and our church...was everything. We didn't sit around the dinner table talking about art or drama: we talked business."[24] Economics, religion, and politics were inseparable. Together they formed a sense of culture. The success of the Marriott Corporation, in Bill Marriott's judgment, owed to two factors: "First, a total commitment to our people and their job progression and growth within the company. And secondly, a total commitment to the business. This isn't a hobby for us. Everyone, including myself, is trying to do their job better every day."[25] In Marriott's perfectionist remarks one could hear echoes of one of the most famous Mormon doctrinal statements: "As man is, God once was; as God is, man may become."[26]

Being Both Mormon and Non-Mormon

Members of the Marriott management team give disparate answers to the question: "Is the Marriott Corporation Mormon?" Anyone familiar with the spiritual and entrepreneurial record of the founding Marriott family might be curious about the answers generated by this question. It is a reasonably straightforward and simple inquiry. One would think there would be a simple answer: either the corporation is Mormon or it is not. And, indeed, the more frequent management reply is that it is not. Most management members point out the obvious: the Marriott Corporation does not require a religious test of either its employees or its stockholders. In all probability, they might go on to speculate, the full ranges of belief and non-belief are to be found among the Corporation membership. Such simple answers and observations are true.

But in reality the simple answer is like the civics-book explanation of how a bill becomes a law. Both mislead. Both confuse rhetoric for reality. Some in management answer the question a bit abruptly. "No, the Marriott Corporation is not Mormon." Their answering style suggests that they take the question to be a bit wearisome, naive, or perhaps disturbing. But the question does make many others in management pause before answering. If these others say "no," it is as if they are less certain than they wish to be or as if they have decided to give a less than complete answer. They sometimes add, "Of course, it used to be Mormon, I suppose you would have to say, before it went public."

Refreshingly, some in the management ranks find the question interesting. They are inclined to treat the question more expansively and instructively. As one Director of Human Resources at a major Marriott Hotel emphatically summarized it, one must recognize that the corporation is both Mormon and non-Mormon. While the corporation is technically free of ties to any religion or religious test, "the Mormon philosophy runs all through the corporate structure." In top management-level decision-making it is reportedly fairly easy to detect the influence of what this director called "the Mormon philosophy."

The influence of the Mormon philosophy at this level should indeed be obvious. For the last score of years the fortunes of the corporation have been in the hands of J. Willard (Bill) Marriott Jr., son of the corporation's founding family. Bill Marriott, the mid-fiftyish corporation president, has continued many his father's ways.[27] Family concerns remain central (although travelling nearly a quarter million miles annually cuts heavily into family time), carefully selected civic and political organizations earn his support, and tithing is a

way of life for him. Marriott has been involved in two kinds of building. His generalship, as noted earlier, has built the corporation into a giant. And Marriott family money contributed in a major way to building the first Mormon temple east of the Mississippi. The Marriott Corporate headquarters and this huge Mormon edifice stand close to one another in greater Washington, D. C.. Together they symbolize the fused interests and aims of J. W. Marriott. Business, social uplift, and the tenets of the Mormon religion merge.

Marriott works to revive an old-fashioned set of political and moral outlooks. Determined to free the world of enterprise from what he sees as the the heavy-handed economic meddling of the federal government, he has chaired Citizen's Choice, a 75,000-member group within the the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. He has been a director of the Business-Industry Political Action Committee (BIPAC) whose mission is to advise corporate PACs and individual companies on favored political candidates. Long an enemy of what he beholds as rampant hedonism and sexual promiscuity in America, he applauds signs of a revived concern with moral values. He notes with pleasure that "it's becoming more classy to stay married," and contributes through Mormon churchwork and the Explorer Scouts to the moral resurgence. In some of these activities, the Marriott Corporation President's right hand doesn't always work cooperatively with his left hand. When he lends his support to campaigns to stamp out teenage drinking, for example, he freely admits that he "hurts our business." But the fact is that, in such instances, he sees "ultimate benefits" in preferring long-term social gains to short-term gains. As he put it, "When the managers of corporations make decisions that are not good long-term decisions for their business, and then they go ask the government to bail them out, it's bad. This damages the credibility of business."[28]

The Rank and File View--From Stage-Center:

With Marriott himself so clearly identified as a crusader for a more moral nation, no member of Marriott's management team is likely to be unclear about the Mormon inspirational base of that crusade. Among the non-management employees, meanwhile, the meaning of "getting Marriottized" seems clear, but its link to Mormonism obscure to all but those in housekeeping. The suggestion of a Mormon influence among workers in the food and beverage division often smacks of an exaggeration. If such non-management employees entertain the question of the Mormon influence at all, they usually regard it as

worth only a simple and straightforward response. Inclined to interpret the question in a more literal sense, they seem commonly in agreement that the Marriott Corporation is not Mormon. Meanwhile, workers in the housekeeping division are well aware that Mormonism is featured in each hotel room. Each bedstand in each room contains, along with *The Bible,* a copy of *The Book of Mormon.*[29] Workers in the housekeeping division might nonetheless conclude that the corporation is not Mormon, if they prefer to be more impressed with the fact that they need not be Mormon to work for the corporation. One's religious preference, all employees clearly understand and appreciate, is to be treated as a matter of private taste and judgment. Religious discriminations on the job are taboo. Employees are explicitly advised that the corporation will not tolerate religious harrassment In their *Employee Handbook,* employees are forewarned that Marriott will "take immediate disciplinary action toward any employee who engages in such harrassment."[30]

Religious conformity, of course, is not a prerequisite to a functional Mormon philosophy. Employee dress-and-decorum codes illustrate. It would not be unreasonable for employees to interpret these codes as simply hyper-cautious, conservative assurances of good grooming. Employees appear to comply with the codes good-naturedly. They sometimes also find certain detailed passages of the *Handbook* wryly humorous without apparently realizing that they are finding humor in what others have construed as the spit-and-polish Mormon image. Indeed, as one wag put it, the *Handbook* could well have been drafted by a Brigham Young University committee at a meeting in the Marriott Activity Center (a prominent structure on the BYU campus). Some stock provisions, of course, are mainstream and raise no eyebrows. No reasonable employee, for example, would question that guests' interests are well-served by the *Handbook* notices that "Each employee is expected to bathe or shower daily and use an appropriate deodorant," and that "an excessive amount of perfume or cologne is offensive...."[31] Nor would employees be likely to deny that Marriott's efforts to police employee conduct are in the guests' best interests. Noting that the "success of our business depends on our treatment of people," the *Handbook* makes it clear that "...any rudeness, i.e., profanity, yelling, use of vulgar or obscene language, suggestive or sarcastic gestures, etc., will not be tolerated."[32] At other times, however, the codes go beyond mere compliance with Affirmative Action, Equal Economic Opportunity, and Department of Health regulations to meet that special Marriott standard.

It is when the *Handbook* details more specific standards of grooming and of dress, that the Marriott family background takes over. In the indisputable area of taste, the caution of

Zion reigns. From the *Handbook* again: "Males: Hair should...not extend past the top of the collar in back or below the eyebrows in front. ...Sideburns should not extend below a line running from the corner of the mouth to the back of the jaw. They should not be extravagant in size or shape. Moustaches should be clean, neatly trimmed, and not extend over the upper lip or past the corners of the mouth. Beards are not permitted."[33]

"Females: ...Extreme faddish hairdos should not be worn. Hair length and style should be appropriate to your job. If you color your hair, care should be taken to ensure that your roots do not show in contrast to the color of the rest of your hair. ...Fingernail polish should be conservative in shade, and, *if worn at all,* should not be chipped. Nail length should be moderate."[34]

"Non-uniformed employees should dress in good business taste... Dress or skirt length should be no shorter than four inches above the knee. All employees must wear undergarments that enhance Marriott's standards of good taste and appearance. All females must wear bras and panties, nylons, and/or pantyhose (which are free from runners and holes). Slips are required when wearing dresses or skirts of thin material. Large rings should not be worn. Only two rings should be worn at any time. Female employees should not wear long, dangling gaudy earrings or gaudy bracelets. (Male employees should not wear any type of earrings.)"[35]

Some hoteliers are more permissive than Marriott. They operate on the more casual assumption that a guest is not likely to be offended, for example, by a hotel employee merely because he is bearded. A neatly trimmed beard, after all, can be very attractive. But to rest content that "a guest is not likely to be offended" would not be good enough odds for Marriott management, certainly not if a guarantee of offense-avoidance were available. And many Mormon guests of the hotel would be offended. Since no guest, Mormon or Gentile, has ever been offended by a hotel employee merely because he was beardless, then all male employees (with a modest management concession to small, neat moustaches) shall have clean shaven faces. All employees of either sex should ideally have that fresh-scrubbed, wholesome Osmond family look.

In its anti-union stance as well as in its elaboration of grooming expectations, lies another fit between the Marriott Corporation and the Mormon view of things. The Mormon Church leadership "has always vehemently opposed labor unions..." and promoted the idea of cooperation and self-sufficiency among the devout.[36] The Marriott aversion to unionism is akin to the Mormon sense of beneficence and community. First, unionism distorts the

impulse of beneficence. A Ciceronian interpretation of giving informs the Mormon doctrine of stewardship. Cicero (and Shakespeare's Polonius as well) had argued eloquently against giving to strangers, for the giver must be held accountable in the event that the gift merely causes the recipient to become content to relax in squalor. The giver should first become familiar with the recipient and be reasonably confident that the gift will either honor self-help or successfully encourage the recipient to work at self-improvement. Merit must play a role in philanthropic decisions. It follows that large-scale assistance programs--the New Deal, for example--is both dangerous and wasteful. It is beneficence gone mad.[37]

Second, unionism dilutes communal values whereas Mormonism stresses the cooperative, familial image. At the local level where persons have faces, personalities, and names, Mormon leadership has promoted the communal values of sharing, mutual support, and contributing to the public welfare. (In the late 1980s, however, the church made "most serious and far-reaching cutbacks" in its welfare programs and intensified its stress on the work ethic.)[38] In their face-to-face worlds of community and worksite, Mormonism and the Marriott Corporation promote ideals of community.

Marriott corporate leadership charges the American union movement with unenlightened views of beneficence and community.[39] It sees the union movement as an anti-Ciceronian foe of a sound doctrine of stewardship and as the enemy of community. A union is seen as content only when it has driven a wedge of alienation between employers and employees. Further, a union is likened to a government-sponsored mass assistance program. Its empty promises proclaim a humane intent to provide great services to employees while in reality it lives parasitically on compulsory employee tributes. In the estimation of Marriott leadership, a union can deliver on only two promises, neither one worthy: it can force employees to pay dues and it can give employees the right to strike. And, one might note, it also represents a dilution of that single-minded dedication to the corporation. It encourages workers to look at their employer with a more critical eye.

The *Employee Handbook* notes that the "management of Marriott has operated for more than 50 years on the basic philosophy of fairness in all dealings with employees, guests, and suppliers. Marriott has, and will continue to have, good employee benefits, good working conditions, good hours and salaries in line with the going rates for the hospitality industry in our area."[40] The Corporation has managed, over that half-century, to make profits and provide salaries, benefits, "and all other things necessary to keep a company in business." No union, the *Handbook* entones, could have accomplished as much for the

employees. After all, a union "can only get for its members what a company is willing to give."[41]

Marriott, the *Handbook* accurately reports, regularly promotes from within and honors longevity with the corporation, while at the same time reserving the right not to be slavishly bound to a seniority system of promotion. In short, the Marriott claim is that no union could outstrip the corporation in its concern for its employees. "Business survival depends on hiring, training and promoting capable employees who can progress and assume greater responsibilities. Unions are only interested in keeping employees on membership rolls to pay dues and assessments. Unions often hinder individual progress to the extent that promotion from within is made extremely difficult."[42]

In the Marriott Corporation, part of getting "Marriottized" is learning that "The employee comes first, the customer is second, and management is third." The employee, after all, *is* the corporation in the eyes of the customer. Management's job involves insuring that the employee is well-groomed, efficient, and cheerful. Management takes much time with its employees, reasoning that an "up-beat" employee, one with good morale, is the basis of customer satisfaction.[43] And, if the customer is satisfied, management can conclude that it has taken proper care of its employees. A circle of satisfaction is formed. A community is realized.

At times, a special sense of community grows out of the hospitality trade itself. When Marriott people define their sense of hospitality, they explain that it is "aggressive hospitality." It often involves role playing. Indeed, the metaphor of the Theater moves management and employees in some Marriott Hotels. The guests are the theater-goers, management and non-management employees are the cast and company in a continuously-running hospitality drama. And "the play is the thing." Outstanding "acting" is rewarded at annual "Oscar" ceremonies. Best employee "performances" in various "roles" receive golden Oscars (distinguishable from the Hollywood originals by little more than a star held in the Marriott Oscar's hands) at the hotel's annual ceremonial employee gathering. Oscars are awarded in such categories as "Best Male in an 8-Hour Feature [i.e., on a daily shift]," "Best Female in an 8-Hour Feature," "Best Technical Director," "Best Employee in a Continuing Series [i.e., a longevity award]," and so on. Only the most perceptive guest would detect the few visible signs of this "Show Business" approach to their well-being. A door in the lobby marked for "Employees Only," for example, might also have a brass plate bearing the meaning-laden inscription, "Stage Door." The sense of Theater exemplifies a central Marriott ideal: "Aggressive Hospitality."[44]

The spirit of show business is only one of an assortment of group efforts, ranging from Wheel of Fortune games to bowling teams and on to newsletters, to promote a sense of teamwork among all employees. An overall aim of "family" emerges. It requires a constant effort to personalize the vast Corporation and make each worksite seem important to its members. The personal touch launched by the senior Marriott continues with his son, Bill Marriott. "Just the other day," one manager said, "Mr. Marriott dropped into our hotel unexpectedly. When the employees found out he was here, they stood in line to shake his hand. Then they stood in line to use the phones to call home and exclaim, 'I just shook hands with Mr. Marriott himself!' It was a marvelous day!"

Embedded in the question, "Is the Marriott Corporation Mormon?" is a sense of something distinctive about its business style. That something need not be explained as Mormonism. It could be described as an effectively enlightened sensitivity to human relations. When one considers the history of the Marriott enterprise and its deeply rooted executive connection to doctrinal religious convictions, however, once again echo the words of the official who said, "The Mormon philosophy runs all through the corporate structure." There is a Mormon philosophy; there is a Marriott philosophy; and the two merge in the process of "Marriottizing" new employees.

Implications for the Handicapped

The leadership of the Marriott Corporation considers work as a "calling." It values most those people who ignore the clock, who work longer and harder than the rest, who seek more than selfish gain. An altruistic motive of helping others is also stressed. Wages are linked to productivity, loyalty, and compatibility, not to seniority and other union standards. Management is impatient with scamped work. It values just the sort of person who might be an employee of the LDS Church.

Within reason, the Corporation judges the worth of handicapped employees by the same standards. Promoters of employment for the handicapped do well to match their aims with Marriott employee standards, Marriott employment needs, and Marriott interests in keeping a lid on labor costs. Given the Corporation's strong political and religious alliances, its general philosophy and employee expectations are important indicators of likely directions for future public policy decisions affecting the employment of handicapped persons in the United States.

[1]Gerry Avant, "Poll Reflects Views Towards LDS," *Church News*, 30, October, 1983, p. 3; as cited in John Heinerman and Anson Shupe, *The Mormon Corporate Empire* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), p. 128. Two recent studies of the political and financial clout of the Mormon Church offer a more precise sense of the nature of that impact. Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley have instructively traced the rise of Mormon power in their study of *America's Saints;* and John Heinerman and Anson Shupe collaborated to report on *The Mormon Corporate Empire*. By implication, and because of the spiritual considerations and special economic needs of the Marriott Corporation, these two studies also offer clues to the shaping of public policy on the handicapped. Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1984); and Heinerman and Shupe, *The Mormon Corporate Empire*. For more comprehensive treatments of Mormonism, see, e.g., Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958) and Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1979).

[2]Robert O'Brien, *Marriott: The J. Willard Marriott Story* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1987), p. 26.

[3]Gustave O. Larson, *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1971) instructively traces this era of federal-territorial hostility.

[4]Ibid., pp. 299, 303.

[5]O'Brien, *Marriott*, p. 29.

[6]Heinerman and Shupe, *Mormon Corporate Empire*, pp. 2, 5, 23, 77.

[7]Quoted in ibid., pp. 126-127.

[8]Ibid., p. 127.

[9]Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, p. 15. To refer to "businessmen" rather than to "business people" or some similar gender-neutral alternative is to underscore the tendency of Ezra Taft Benson's conservative leadership to prefer women to remain closer to the domestic hearth.

[10]Heinerman and Shupe, *Mormon Corporate Empire*, p. 81.

[11]Media investments are intended to be profitable and to promote Mormonism (largely through public service "spots") in a Gentile world.

[12]Ibid., pp. 55, 75, 119; Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, pp. 14, 53.

[13]Heinerman and Shupe, *Mormon Corporate Empire*, pp. 110-127, *passim*.

[14]With respect to the Moral Majority, it is noteworthy that 40 percent of all converts to the LDS Church are Baptists. Heinerman and Shupe, *Mormon Corporate Empire*, p. 99. Mormons, of course, are not by any means uniformly conservative. There are the "mainstream" Mormons, the "fundamentalists," and the "independent" Mormons, with sub-groups within those categories, as well as the backsliding "jack" Mormons. Benson represents the "authoritian" wing of the Church. But that is a powerful wing, for the basic structure of the LDS Church is itself authoritarian. Its top-down structure is essential to its theocratic aspirations. See, e. g., Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, pp. 244-245.

[15]Hatch steadfastly asserts that his vote is independent of the LDS Church. Others have noted, meanwhile, that his vote is regularly consistent with Church policy and his staff assistants note that he regularly reports to the Church on his activities and attends the semi-annual General Conference in Salt Lake City. But there would be no reason to consider such consultations, even if they resulted in collaborations, as conspiratorial. They are obvious, above-board, and, together with the activities of other Mormons in the political arena, are "more akin to a social movement." It is just that "the designation

Mormon politician/bureaucrat/official is supposed to mean, at least in the eyes of some Church officials, special consideration of LDS Church interests." See Heinerman and Shupe, *Mormon Corporate Empire,* pp. 138-142.

[16]Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints,* p. 87.

[17]Heinerman and Shupe, *Mormon Corporate Empire,* p. 133.

[18]O'Brien, *Marriott,* pp.123, 163; Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints,* pp. 69, 87.

[19]Ibid., pp. 88, 109. Tom Brokaw recognized the Marriott connection to Church policy. After the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), Brokaw arranged for a *Today Show* interview with Bill Marriott along with Gordon B. Hinkley, an apostle leader. When Brokaw tried to probe the church's active role in the defeat of the ERA, Hinkley took the lead in evading the question. Ibid., p. 31.

[20]Ibid., p. 101.

[21]Ibid., pp. 60-62. Although the Marriotts, father and son together, learned their management lessons before and independent of Neal A. Maxwell, the authors of *America's Saints* see Maxwell's 'priesthood style' in the LDS Church style. "Neal A. Maxwell's 'priesthood style'--the style of American corporate management--was embraced from the General Authority on down." "It was more than just coincidence that the church found that their top leaders came from the ranks of the multinational corporations doing business in those very same countries." Ibid., p. 252.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Ibid., p. 64.

[24]Paul G. Engel, "'Making it' the Marriott Way," *Lodging Hospitality,* October, 1987, p.114.

[25]Ibid., p. 116.

[26]As quoted by Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints,* p. 189.

[27]What young Bill Marriott once said in eulogy of his father seems true of himself as well: "Although many of us will remember...[my father] for his success in business, that was only a small part of his true success in life. For his greatness was his goodness, his deep love of the Lord, his earnest study of the Scriptures and his strong testimony that God lives and that there is life beyond the grave." *Marriott World,* vol.7, no. 4, n.p., n.d. [1985], p. 22.

[28]Quoted by Daniel B. Moskowitz, "Marriott: Crusader for a Moral America," *Business Week,* January 21, 1985, p. 75. Presumably, it would be "good for business" to open hotels in Las Vegas and Atlantic City, too. But the Marriott philosophy and gambling casinos make a poor fit.

[29]In some hotels, according to one source, one is likely to find *The Book of Mormon* instead of *The Bible* . See John Heinerman and Anson Shupe, *The Mormon Corporate Empire* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), pp. 1, 49. In our experience, however, both books were featured together, as might be expected. For Mormons, after all, both works are divinely inspired.

[30]Marriott Hotels-Resorts, *Employee Handbook,* n.p., October 1986. Nor will the corporation tolerate other forms of harrassment by employees, including "unsolicited racial, ethnic, religious, or sexually oriented conduct, and, or racist, ethnic, religious, age or sexist comments and/or other behavior." See p. 24. Elsewhere handicap and veteran status are explicitly included. See p. 22.

Individual copies of the *Employee Handbook* are given to all non-management employees as part of their orientation to the corporation. The *Handbook* concludes with a section outlining the "Conditions of Employment" in which major corporation expectations

are itemized. This section, with space at the end for the witnessed signature of the employee, concludes by directing the employee to affirm the following: "I agree and understand that the contents of this handbook...are presented as a matter of information only and are not to be understood or construed as a promise or contract between the Marriott Corporation and its hotels and its employees."; "I understand that nothing contained in my employment application is intended to create an employment contract between the Marriott Corporation and its Hotel and myself for either employment or for the providing of any benefit"; and finally "I understand that I have the right to terminate my employment at any time and that my employer retains a similar right and that my employer's personnel policies and/or handbooks do not constitute an employment contract." p. 27.

[31]Ibid., pp. 6,7.

[32]Ibid., p. 15.

[33]Ibid., p. 7. These Marriott expectations are not itemized to ridicule, but to illustrate. Beyond question, they promote good grooming. The point is to show the extent to which the corporation chooses to be explicit about its standards of good grooming.

[34]Ibid. Emphasis mine. The F. W. Marriott Hotel in Washington D. C. was the site of a recent incident involving a female employee, Pamela Mitchell, who was threatened with dismissal because she defied company policy by refusing to abandon her cornrow hairdo. In the resolution of that case, in which Bo Derek and Jesse Jackson came to the employee's defense, Marriott's grooming policy was ruled discriminatory by the District of Columbia Office of Human Rights. Smarting from the ruling and from a $40,000 settlement awarded to Mitchell, Marriott management reconsidered its policy and accepted neat cornrow coiffures as not "extremely faddish."

[35]Ibid., p. 8. The dress code for Mormons who work for their church, contained in a handbook entitled "A Style of Our Own," is consistent with the Marriott handbook in many respects. For males the strictures against long hair, long sideburns, and beards is consistent; and, for females, similar details are noted. Women, for example, must always wear shoes and always with stockings. But the code on dress-length is much more conservative. Rather than allowing the knee to show, as the Marriott handbook allows, female working for the church must keep their dresses two inches below the knee.The churchworkers are also advised to be "always smiling, always happy." See, e. g., Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1984), pp. 215, 217.

[36]Heinerman and Shupe, *The Mormon Corporate Empire* , p. 96.

[37]A historic rift, dating from the era of the Great Depression, still exists between church leadership and rank-and-file membership on the implications of New Deal philosophy. Utah's Mormon church-goers voted overwhelmingly for Roosevelt in 1932 and again in 1936, while church leaders expressed alarm at the evils of government largess. Although the Mormon Church has since gained the reputation as a church that "takes care of its own," Utah was once receiving more federal assistance per capita than any other state in the union.

[38]Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints,* p. 124.

[39]One manager explained that it was not Machiavellian, nor was it necessarily anti-union, to try to make the workers proud to be members of the Marriott team.

[40]*Employee Handbook,* p. 23. The phrase "in this area" is a reminder of the Marriott opposition to a federally-established minimum wage. See, e.g., Aimee Morner's interview with J. Willard Marriott, "A Difference of Opinion," in *Fortune* (January 29, 1979): pp. 101-103.

---

[41]*Employee Handbook,* p. 23.

[42]Ibid.

[43]As the *Handbook* advertises in an all-capitalized sentence: "NO MEMBER OF MANAGEMENT IS TOO BUSY TO HEAR PROBLEMS OR COMPLAINTS OF ANY EMPLOYEE." And, "There will be no discrimination or recrimination against any employee because he presents a complaint or problem." p. 21.

[44]The director of sales at one Marriott Hotel expressed it this way: "Every day the traveling public is your audience. And every performance counts. People who like people do very well at Marriott." Wayne F. Nelson, "Washington's Best Employers," *The Washingtonian,* quoted on p. 239.

II

PROFILE OF AN ENTREPRENEURIAL STYLE

The Marriott Corporation is one of the great twentieth-century business success stories. No corporation is a larger operator of hotel rooms in the United States than Marriott Hotels and Resorts. The corporation is a leading in-flight caterer for airlines, operates facilities in airports, and owns cruise ships. It is a leading restaurateur. It has approximately 200,000 employees in 50 states and 27 countries. Quietly but firmly non-union, the Marriott Corporation claims a long history of satisfied employees. And, what is particularly important to this study, the corporation has been remarkably successful as an employer of handicapped persons.

What accounts for the Marriott Corporation's success with the handicapped? Has the Corporation a secret that might be discovered and exported to the advantage of other prospective employers? Much of the success of the Marriott Corporation is the fruit of the entrepreneurial groundwork of J. Willard Marriott, Sr. (1900-1985) and his family. Even our interest in the relations between the Corporation and the handicapped, therefore, might be illumined by his biography.

Will we find that the senior Marriott's ideas about employee-employer relations are compatible with notions held by other leading twentieth-century entrepreneurs? Has the Marriott Corporation merely perfected an operational style with respect to these mainstream notions about relations or are there important uniquenesses to the Marriott approach? A look at the American business context is in order.

A Survey of the Business Context

Mainstream views of employee-employer relations have relied heavily on the social sciences, especially psychology, sociology, and anthropology. Employers have shifted

from being authoritarian and heavy handedly paternal to being more subtly paternal and, in some instances, even claiming to elicit creative and independent judgment among employees. But the aim has remained constant: To increase productivity, lower costs, and evade the clutches on unionism. Loren Baritz provides an excellent historical analysis of this element of continuity among the shifting notions of work and productivity.[1]

Henry Ford took pioneering steps toward modernity. In 1914, Ford announced a stunning innovation in employer-employee relations. Calling it "profit sharing and efficiency engineering," he announced that he was going to increase his workers' daily wage from $2.30 to the astronomical figure of $5.00. What he expected in return from his workers was greater productivity and greater loyalty to the Ford Motor Company. To make certain that his workers did not let their new wealth lead them astray in their private lives, Ford set up a "Sociological Department" with one hundred "advisers." These advisers could, at will, enter an employee's home to see how leisure time was being spent, to make certain that no one was boozing or engaging in deviant behavior, to check on the cleanliness of the home, and so on. Any worker who failed to measure up to Ford's expectations of "proper living" went back to $2.30 a day for a probationary period during which he demonstrated proper behavior. Then his full salary could be reinstated. As the top daily pay rose to $6.00, Ford's advisers continued their investigations and Ford himself lectured the workers about loyalty, gratitude, and Americanism.

Largely owing to the impact of recession in 1920, Ford abandoned the attempt to bring proper living to his workers and reverted to a scheme in which skill and seniority determined bonuses and investments And eventually the Ford Motor Company became a bloody arena of organized labor strife. But meanwhile Ford had demonstrated an important point: it is profitable for management to attend to the human element in business. And the paternalistic approach to employees set the tone for the most enlightened corporate leaders of his generation. Reminiscent of George Pullman before them, the avant garde corporate leaders of the 1920s offered to take care of their workers in exchange for unquestioning loyalty, dedication, and increased productivity. And the approach seemed to work. Organized labor steadily lost members to paternalism, to the continued vitality of company unions formed during the War, and negative public opinion.

The psychological approach dominated the study of human relations over these early years. Army psychologists, especially, had convinced corporate leadership that the study of individual differences and the development of tests of aptitude and intelligence could further enhance the aims of business. And other psychologists had helped to make advertising

more effective; they knew how to create demand for goods and services. Business leaders hoped that personnel and industrial relations policies could also profit from the psychologists' touch. But, while psychological testing became a fad, it utterly failed to generate steady trust among business leaders. Quacks were well represented along with the the genuine psychologists. Many business leaders, unable to distinguish betwen the real and the sham, turned away from the psychological perspective altogether. As one observer put it, "there has been considerable skepticism...in certain quarters in regard to just how far psychological tests can be applied in industry under the acid test of paying for themselves in the balance sheet."[2] If psychologists couldn't "earn their keep," they didn't belong on the payroll.

The contribution of sociology in the 1930s was vastly more unequivocal and impressive. Indeed, as Loren Baritz aptly noted, "The single most important social research project ever conducted in industry was carried out in the oldest manufacturing plant of the Western Electric Company, the Hawthorne Works."[3] The research began as a rather straightforward psychological study to determine the relationship of lighting to productivity. But the results were disappointing. Questions asked were not being answered. Changing illumination levels in work areas failed to produce the expected results. In one early phase of the study, in fact, production increased when lighting was reduced.

Enter the sociologist. The Hawthorne studies were underway. One variable after another had failed to account for productivity shifts: changed physical conditions, introducing rest pauses and shorter work day, relief from monotony, different wage systems, and testroom changes in supervision. What, then, accounted for the production increases? It proved to be a change unimposed and unanticipated by the researchers: the workers became a self-conscious group. Group standards had come to prevail among the members of the control group. The group was determining the level of production. Group pressures to conform had the power to cause underproduction as well as accelerated production, regardless of the the pay or other variables involved. It became an inescapable conclusion that one's performance was not related to one's ability. It was more likely related to one's group.

Productivity seemed to hinge upon the ability of management either to change the thinking of the group or break the power of the group. Both sociological and psychological tacks were taken by management It was found a boon to productivity to involve the work group in decision-making about the task, to keep them informed about procedures, to build esprit. And it was found essential to promote counseling in order to gain a clearer portrait of each

individual worker. Personnel counseling reintroduced psychology once again to join the sociologocal (and anthropological) study of group dynamics. For those leaders who studied and chose to profit from the Hawthorne studies, it was seen as "cost effective" to give workers a sense of belonging, of being cared for, and a sense of personal worth. Such enlightened paternal attention also promised to increase productivity.

During the depression, attitude surveys were popular, the assumption being that, to know the employees' attitudes could help management predict and control employee behavior. One of the problems underscored by attitude studies was monotony. But what was to be made of monotony? Several observers fatalistically concluded that much twentieth-century work was inescapably dull, mechanical, rote, and repetititous--and nothing could be done about it. Others argued that work could still be made more interesting. Some entered a brief for monotony, saying that mechanical and repetitive tasks were favored by some workers who could pass their workdays having pleasant daydreams. Still others said that the modern task was to screen job applicants to get as employees those very persons who preferred dull work. As a result of these new concerns with individual traits the psychological testing movement, which had stumbled in the twenties, gained a firmer footing by the late 1930s.

In concert with intelligence testing and attitude checks, training programs increased in popularity. Training served to indoctrinate workers into the values of the corporation while it counteracted the union organizers and the leftward drift of the depression years. And training weaned foremen from their older authoritarian approach to workers. Foremen were taught how to "lead" workers and how to get along with them better. It became axiomatic that just as the workers get along with their immediate supervisor so do they feel toward the entire corporation. "Discipline" became "leadership." On the eve of World War II the most advanced thinking in the board rooms of American corporations focused on "repressing unionism, controlling the attitudes and thinking of its workers, driving output up, driving costs down, and regaining a firmer grip on American social, intellectual, political, and economic life."[4]

World War II brought breathtaking developments to business and industry. Labor became vastly more critical than ever before. Human relations, testing, attempts to ferret out and defuse the psychological problems of workers, combatting absenteeism and turnover came fully into their own. These concerns were seen as within the control of management. If absenteeism became a problem, for example, management deserved blame for improper treatment of the employees. The state of employee morale depended on the wisdom

management displayed in the fine art of "human relations." Morale, according to the popular view, could be controlled by altering working conditions and relations.

But morale suffered during the years of war and recovery. In one 1945 survey, 28% of unskilled workers were dissatisfied. In another survey, taken in 1947, almost half of the participating factory workers grumbled displeasure with their work. This was a most startling survey result. For even in the depth of the depression only one-third of the work force had felt so negative.[5] But it did not take management long to realize that, in the mere act of conducting morale and attitude surveys, they contributed to raising morale. The fact that such surveys were being taken seemed to encourage workers to conclude that management "really cared" about their welfare. Such surveys were "good business." Moreover, they helped identify possible sources of anti-capitalism and radicalism.

In post World War II America, the field of "human relations" turned a new corner. Now possessed of a more subtly "democratic" rationale, human relations made a deep impression on leaders in business and industry. Motivation, leadership, and communication--the full range of employee-employer relations--came to be seen as keys to corporate productivity and profits. As a leader for Standard Oil saw the importance of the human relations approach, "the biggest competitive advantage that Esso can gain lies in continuing to build initiative, cooperation, and the will to work within our people."[6] Henry Ford II construed human relations as "human engineering" and praised it as the way to improve production and morale within the Ford Motor Company.

While labor leaders appeared confused by the testing movement and as arbitrators repeatedly ruled in favor of managements' use of testing, new personality tests were developed offering the promise to weed out undesirable applicants and workers who had earlier slipped onto the payroll. Especially for workers on the job, the role of the counselor rose to unprecedented prominence. Through such devices as testing, counseling, training, and attitude surveys, management hoped to gain a workforce of "custom made" employees. In the 1950s the "human relations approach" became the answer to the personnel directors' dreams. There were still problems. Motivation and loyalty, for example, remained problematical. But there was always the promise of "further research."

Over all these twentieth-century decades a consistently unflattering view of the worker stood as a prominent feature of industrial psychologists' thinking. At first psychologists told management that the typical worker is "stupid, overly emotional, class conscious, without recreational or aesthetic interests, insecure and afraid of responsibility. He is a

man who, when banded together in a union with others of like sort, is to be distrusted and feared." Later, the "researchers" concluded that the worker joined a union "because of personality maladjustment, one that probably occurred early in life." The union feeds the worker's need to be told what to do, what to think. It frees the worker of personal responsibility for behavior and strokes the worker's ego. A union demand for higher wages, for instance, is effective primarily because it shows that the union is friendly to the worker, offering appreciation and understanding. Given this profile of the unstable worker, management's responsibility became indelibly clear: Human relations, counseling, and testing were crucial. Management could save itself or dig its own grave; for "where management is fair and is alert to discover and remove sources of employee dissatisfaction, a union is not necessary."[7]

The above propositions about labor and profits were being trumpeted across the business landscape through the formative years of the Marriott Corporation. But they were by no means the only propositions. Other views of human nature and human relationships moved some entrepreneurs. While the bottom line--the quest for profit--remained fixed, the rationale for favoring a particular form of employee-employer relations occasionally ran in directions far afield from the world of the social sciences. As we shift our attention from the American entrepreneurial matrix to the Marriott Corporation, we see in the leadership of J. Willard Marriott, Sr., a successful set of "human relations" values formed largely without benefit of scholarly probes into the human psyche.

A Mormon Fusion of Capitalism and Communalism

Robert O'Brien's biography, *Marriott: The J. Willard Marriott Story,* offers an instructive glimpse into the mind of the senior Marriott.[8] O'Brien's appreciative work traces the powerful twin formative influences of family and church on Marriott's character. With his Mormon parents steadfastly keeping the teachings of the church before their son, the Mormon faith guided Marriott's life unswervingly from his infancy--and without apostacy along his life's way. Marriott early saw the "finest things in life" as "the Golden Rule, work, and one's religion. They build character and good habits and a good family life...."[9]

Bred of inspiration from within and spurred by Gentile hostility from without, the early message of Mormon leadership stressed communal values. The church regulated the

community. Through most of the nineteenth century Mormons stressed the cooperative and unselfish values of sharing with one another, helping one another, and giving at least a tenth (a tithe) of one's earnings to the church for the welfare of the group. A "reasonable" faith, Mormonism "undercut sectarian pluralism and emotionalism with objectivity, moral legalism, a liberal answer to many old issues, a positive this-worldliness, and even a kind of rationalism that had grown, perhaps, out of...disdain for frontier sermonizing."[10] These were the values Marriott's parents had grown up following; and he too lived by their meanings. His biographer found frequent examples of cooperation and unstinting service throughout Marriott's competitive career. And he tithed all his life, giving at least ten percent before taxes.

By the dawn of Marriott's generation, a "creeping capitalism" had risen to modify and dilute the earlier stress on communitarianism. Marriott was raised on his family's Utah farm to believe both in the old values of sharing and, beyond that, in individual initiative, self-help, and "getting ahead" in life. His rise in the church typified the model Mormon lad: At age 12, a deacon; five years later, a priest, and at age 19 an elder striking out for New England and a two-year tour as a missionary for the Church and the Lord. The missionary experience, a unique source of the strength of Mormonism, worked its wonders on Marriott. Preaching to non-believers, making converts, being pelted with rotten apples, threatened with arrest as a "heathen" and a "polygamist"-- all his experiences strengthened his resolve. And being an agent of miraculous healing gave a Damascene edge to the sword of his faith. An unforgettable experience of his mission experience, it happened while he was nursing a critically injured girl named Ruth. Alone with Ruth for over a half hour in her bedroom, "he took her hand and asked for the Lord's healing presence to reveal itself in that room. He placed his hands gently upon her head and gave her a blessing by the power of the priesthood he held, and in the name of Jesus Christ." He somehow knew she would recover. And she did. "Even before he left, Ruth opened her eyes. 'Mama,' she whispered, 'I'm very thirsty.'" By that point in young Marriott's life he was absolutely convinced that he "had a religion that could cure every ill in the world."[11]

Following his missionary service, and as a student paying his own way first at Weber Junior College and then at the University of Utah, he majored in history and political science. After graduating from the University he put in a stint of teaching English, theology, and drama at Weber Junior College. At free moments, when he was not herding sheep, feeding cattle, or harvesting sugar beets, his reading choices including the Bible, the Book of Mormon, Zane Grey, Hawthorne, Twain, and Gene Stratton-Porter. But Waldo

Emerson was becoming one of his greatest loves. He devoured Emerson's *Essays,* "poring over them at night by the light of the kerosene lamp, studying them on horseback on quiet days when the sheep were browsing.... Emerson both comforted and inspired him and seemed to have special meaning just for him. What Emerson said on almost every page was that to grow strong and tall and self-reliant, you needed obstacles to overcome. You needed adversities to challenge you and bring out the best in you. And the bigger and tougher the obstacle, the stronger you grew in character and self-confidence and in the ability to succeed. But there was one more thing.... You had to respect the obstacle.... You had to realize that it had something to teach you about the world and life and yourself.... You had to face all this without fake courage or bravado, but with coolness and grace."[12]

Marriott came to maturity as a sterling representative of the oratorical wing of the liberal arts tradition. Unlike those philosophical members of the liberal arts tradition who held it their first order of business to advance knowledge, he beheld the great truths as already known, Absolute, out there, waiting to be grasped to one's heart. He came from the tradition set afoot by Isocrates and Cicero, preferring the trivium to the quadrivium, preferring the humanities to the sciences. Armed with the humanities and a canny Yankee version of Emersonian ideals, filled with unshakable confidence about the material and spiritual meaning of his life, burning to "succeed" in this most favored of all lands on the planet (this land to which Jesus would someday return to reign over the Earth), blending capitalism with communalism--and blessed with a bride who shared his dreams--J. Willard Marriott in 1927 opened a nine-seat root beer stand in downtown Washington, D. C.. His days as the builder of a corporation had begun.

Doing things "from scratch" had been part of the Mormon experience. The Mormons had "made the desert bloom" by beginning with meager tools. The Marriott homestead had begun from a mere seed. And the Marriott Corporation began the same way. Marriott's Mormon experience had taught him lessons in building a business. So had Emerson. Marriott copied an apt Emerson quote and filed it away for periodic reference: "The true way now of beginning," said Emerson, "is to play the hero in commerce, as it has been done in war, in church, in schools, in state,--not begin with a borrowed capital, but [he] must raise an estate from the seed, must begin with his hands, and earn one cent; then two; then a dollar; then stock a basket; then a barrow; then a booth; then a shop; and then a warehouse; and not on this balloon of credit make his first structure. Franklin, William Hutton, and many New England merchant princes are men of this merit."[13]

Marriott too built a step at a time and avoided borrowing, especially from banks. From the voices of the past --from Cicero and Shakespeare's Polonius--to the sad spectacle of his father's mounting debts., Marriott also insisted, "Neither a borrower nor a lender be;/ For loan oft loses both itself and friend,/ and borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry./ This above all: to thine own self be true,/ And it must follow, as the night the day,/ Thou canst not then be false to any man." Or, as Marriott himself once put it when asked to be a lender: "Friend, people are after me all the time to sign notes for them, but I never sign a note for anybody. If I wanted to help them, and if I could, I'd sooner give them the money and forget it. Start signing notes and most times, you lose your money, and you lose your friend too."[14] Marriott judged one's going into debt as a sign of weakness, a character flaw. From the outset he was a cash-on-the-barrel-head entrepreneur, competitive and conservative.

Such an owner of a restaurant chain is not likely to depend upon social scientists to instruct him about how to hire new employees. First, a decent, trusted person who was a good judge of character could hire the "right kind" of person to join the Marriott world. Then, with confidence that the new hires had the right stuff, came the all-important training and indoctrination of the new employees. Contemporary employees who look back upon the full record of this traditional initiation process call it "getting Marriottized." Marriott wanted employees who were "believers" in the Marriott mission. New managers, curbside workers, dishwashers, cooks were the company Gentiles to be preached to and converted by Marriott, the entrepreneurial missionary. The aim was to develop in the employees feelings of loyalty, pride in quality service, and faith in their company, firmly believing that "if they did things right, lived right, and worked hard, they would be richly rewarded--right here on earth."[15]

J. Willard Marriott Senior and his wife Alice ("Allie") "went out of their way to let the employees know that they were appreciated, as people, as human beings whose connection with the company didn't end when they hung up their uniforms and went home at the close of a day's work. O'Brien noted that "Employes were trained in company programs and policies, were encouraged to work for promotion, and knew by example that Bill would always promote from within rather than seek outside, and when a curber was promoted to supervisor, or a supervisor to an assistant managership, Bill wrote him a personal letter of appreciation and congratulations. When an employe's relative died, he wrote a personal letter of condolence. When the Connecticut Avenue curber who won the Washington city public links golf championship couldn't afford the trip to New York to play in the regional

championship, Bill paid his way. When the black chef in the Philadelphia store needed $200 for an eye operation, Bill paid it. Bill and "Allie" instituted the custom of giving every employe a Christmas present of a day's pay for every year of service. When an employe completed five years of service, he or she received a gift from the company--a radio, a refrigerator, an electric stove, the longer the service, the bigger the gift."[16] In the mid-1930s they also started a company bowling league for their 2,000 employees and their families, launched an annual company outing, and started a monthly newsletter of employee news and information.

To enhance his effectiveness as a leader, Marriott took the Dale Carnegie course on winning friends and influencing people and saw to it that key employees in each restaurant also took the ten-lesson course. He reportedly spent a good deal of his time on daily visits to each of his restaurant shoppes, just being friendly with customers, sitting and chatting with the employees, sipping a soft drink, talking shop, asking about how things were going, being attentive and interested--and making employees feel like members of the Marriott family. But there was also the potential task-master edge to each visit. Marriott was known as a fanatic about cleanliness. No manager ever knew when another of his white-gloves inspections was coming. From the kitchen to the front counter he would examine everything, "raising hell if everything wasn't spotless, neat, clean, bright, polished, done efficiently, done well."[17] Marriott expected his workers to be prepared to share in the full range of feelings among his "family members," the relaxed, friendly banter and the biting criticisms alike. Either way, his was a hands-on operation, guided by the personal touch, the pressing of the flesh, from its inception. As his biographer noted, "Bill and Allie didn't need the A.F.L. or the C.I.O. to persuade them to be good to their employees; it had been their way from the beginning, and in those years, the couple formulated the policies and the philosophy" that continued to guide the Marriott enterprise into the 1980s.[18]

A key to control of a sprawling string of businesses was centralization and standardization. Uniformity of procedures throughout the chain was seen as essential. Once a recipe had been accepted, for example, no chef was to deviate from that recipe "by so much as a pinch of salt."[19] Marriott wrote a small book detailing general company policies (including operations, employee/customer relations, accounting, etc.) and placed one copy in the hands of each manager and assistant manager. At staff meetings the procedures were discussed and, when experience justified it, policies were changed and the book amended

to so indicate. Once again, the members of each shoppe were involved, at least indirectly, in the shaping of company policy. But the final decision was always Marriott's.

Marriott and the Servants of Power

Clearly Marriott belongs somewhere among the "human relations" corporate leaders. But where? He did not turn to the social scientists to instruct him about human nature and motivation. He drew upon the humanities, religion, and personal experience. His rationale was not simply to manipulate, to exercise power, to make money. He treated his workers with uncontrived respect, and apparently with no study of "human engineering" beyond the fairly straightforward machinations of Dale Carnegie and the mystical assistance of prayer. A form of paternalism inescapably emerged as Marriott assumed responsibility for the welfare of thousands of workers who depended upon the success of his corporate venture. But he carried no one on the books who became a goldbrick. He wanted quality work from all who remained on his payroll in exchange for family membership. He beheld a nobility in work well done. There was in him a central vein of religious conviction that one's life should be lived in service to God, nation, family, and friends--the very breakdown of moral duties that Cicero had advocated. In the positive this-worldly orientation of modern Mormonism, to become wealthy by the sweat of one's brow while serving and working was to enjoy more of the God-given blessings of this earth. In work could be found self-knowledge and the meaning of life, for it provided the test of one's mettle.

In the wider twentieth-century business matrix the focus is on the prominent role played by social scientists in the naked struggle for power and control over employees in the world of business. Marriott does not quite fit in the company of this cast of characters. Marriott struggled for control, too; but his struggle was within the humanities and theological traditions and remained a by-product of higher ideals and motives. With him capitalism was not an economic system dominated by manipulative MBAs staring fixedly at the "bottom line"; with him capitalism was a religious calling dominated by leaders desiring to serve God and His creatures--with one eye on the "bottom line."

In the late 1980s, Marriott managers are likely to tell the curious that, with them, their employees come first, their customer second, and themselves third. And in accepting aggressively the challenge of hiring handicapped employees, the same rhetoric prevails.

One new rule, however, is added: All employees are to be considered alike, without favoritism or coddling, even if some job descriptions need to be changed to fit particular handicapping conditions. And the bottom line remains: Profit. To make a profit, to grow, is the aim of the enterprise. The Marriott Corporation, to use the senior Marriott's words, is not "running a mission."[20] The hiring of the handicapped is not purely an act of philanthropy. Hiring the handicapped is also proving to be good business.

---

[1]Loren Baritz, *The Servants of Power: A History of the Use of Social Science in American Industry* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960).

[2]Herman Feldman, *A Survey of Research in the Field of Industrial Relations* (mimeographed; New York, June 8, 1928), p. 71. Quoted by Baritz, *Servants of Power:* p. 72

[3]Ibid. p. 77.

[4]Ibid., p. 138.

[5]Ibid., pp. 147, 148.

[6]A. W. Brown, manager of Esso Employee Relations, "Comments at Sept. 14, 1954, Management Conference of Standard Oil Co.," *Human Relations in Esso Standard Oil* (N. P.,[1954(?)]), p. 6. Quoted by Baritz, *Servants of Power:* p. 169.

[7]Ibid., pp. 201-202.

[8]Robert O'Brien, *Marriott: The J. Willard Marriott Story* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1987). O'Brien's is a biography in the classic tradition. It is designed to offer the reader a lofty example of a life well-lived. Some will find it too uncritical. Those who appreciate the classic tradition, however, will find it inspirational and certainly a far cry from the modern biographies that pant to elaborate on their subjects' flaws. It is interesting to note that Marriott reportedly "paid the church to publish" his biography. See Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1984), p. 119.

[9]O'Brien, *Marriott*, p. 315.

[10]Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 504.

[11]O'Brien, *Marriott*, p. 80.

[12]Ibid., pp. 100-101.

[13]Ibid., p. 222.

[14]Ibid., p. 154.

[15]Ibid., p. 155.

[16]Ibid., pp. 180, 181.

[17]Ibid., p.166.

[18]Ibid., p.179.

[19]Ibid., p.168, 169.

[20]Ibid., p. 138.

III

WORK IN THE "LEAST DEPENDENT ENVIRONMENT"

Over the last decade the Marriott Corporation has established a reputation as a remarkably successful employer of handicapped persons.[1] Corporate success has owed much to the Marriott philosophy in action. It was a philosophy that predisposed management to be alert to the opportunities to work with the handicapped. But the Marriott Corporation is not a social agency. It is in business to make money, as any stockholder knows. The Marriott philosophy turned to a consideration of the handicapped as an important employee pool as a result of sober business considerations.

Three considerations figured centrally in the Marriott decision to step up its involvement with the handicapped. The first, logically, was the incentive of financial gain. In 1979, when the Corporation made its decision to explore seriously the world of the handicapped, it was still reeling from a federal hike in the minimum wage from $2.30 an hour in 1977 to $2.90 in January, 1979. Marriott had reacted by eliminating about five percent of its total person-hours, and by such adaptations as accelerating the shift to self-service salad bars. About 1,500 jobs were eliminated. But no new breakthrough in automation came to the Corporation's rescue. As J. W. ("Bill") Marriott, Jr., noted, it is "hard to automate restaurants and hotels--they haven't invented a machine yet that makes beds."[2] The cost of wages is the greatest single cost of the hospitality business. In 1979, much of Marriott's labor was part-time. "Very few of our employees are putting in forty hours a week, though they may have done so two years ago," Bill Marriott acknowledged.[3] Thirty hours a week became a new norm. Then came a federally sponsored tax incentive plan for the hiring of persons with a variety of handicapping conditions. With that came the incentive of financial gain for the Corporation.

The second consideration is closely related to the first: an unstable labor force was a chief worry of the Corporation. It is the nature of the hospitality business to have a high employee turn-over rate. Approximately 70 percent of the jobs are either unskilled or semi-

skilled. It is, furthermore, a less attractive employment field than many prospective employees seek. How could this high turnover be reduced and stability be enhanced? Could the handicapped do the work and be less impatient to move on to more demanding, and more lucrative, employments? With the new tax incentive breaks, the Marriott Corporation now found it worthwhile to explore these questions.

The third consideration was the chilling effect of a shrinking labor force. Signs of shrinkage were evident even in the mid-1960s. 1965 brought a portentous hint of change when , after more than a decade of high birthrates, the birthrate failed to reach four million. Service-sector shortages became a special matter of perplexing concern. Homemakers and the elderly began to attract employer interest. Marriott's Roy Rogers eateries, for example, announced offers of flex-time scheduling to homemakers and senior citizens.[4] Long-range labor projections became ominous. By 1995, according to figures made available by the National Restaurant Association (NRA), foodservice jobs in major categories would need to be increased by an additional 32 percent. Meanwhile, the number of those in the prime years of the foodservice industry's major labor force--persons between the ages of 16 and 24--was steadily waning. Between 1982 and 1995, according to the NRA, the number of persons in this category would decrease by 14 percent.[5]

Faced with these conditions and projection figures, the Marriott Corporation's need to explore a theretofore untapped source of potential workers assumed urgent proportions. By its own projections, the Marriott Corporation was likely to be the nation's largest private employer by the late 1990s. The handicapped of all ages (and those homemakers and elderly who could be lured back into the work force) became a new and potentially precious resource.

Given the Marriott philosophy and its predisposition to be sympathetic to the needs of the handicapped, then, these three considerations spurred the Corporation into an early position of leadership with the handicapped. The prospect of financial gain was there. So too were the reassuring reports on the likelihood that the handicapped could help Marriott keep its competitive edge. Always a problem, labor had become an excruciatingly crucial concern. The Corporation established an early lead in the competition for scarce labor and determinedly set about to find ways to offset the projected labor shortages in the hospitality industry. But to launch a program is not to succeed with it. That the Marriott Corporation fared so commendably well with its handicapped employment program is owing to the Marriott philosophy itself. The willingness to adapt job descriptions to meet new conditions, to modify or restructure jobs as demanded by handicapping conditions,

requires a strong and unified corporate commitment and the teamwork of dedicated employees.

Other corporations, if successful with such a campaign, have their own means to make it bear fruit. In the Marriott Corporation that means is a secularized Mormon philosophy made operational in a Gentile world and among largely Gentile employees through a ceaseless process of Marriottizing one another, of implanting a communal sense of purpose, pride, and loyalty.[6] Wayne F. Nelson, in calling the Marriott Corporation one of Washington's best employers, described it as "a public corporation that the Marriott family insists on running as a family store, and," he added, "the employees love it."[7]

Hiring the Handicapped

With the exception of the autistic, the psychotic, and those suffering progressive physical infirmities, persons with all varieties of handicapping conditions find work in the Marriott Corporation. Roughly four percent of Marriott's more-than-two-hundred-thousand employees are physically or mentally handicapped. About one thousand of the Marriott employees are mentally retarded.[8] Whenever possible, Marriott accommodates those job trainees whose handicapping conditions require the modification of the environment or a job description. If necessary, company trainers will also set up behavior modification programs with prospective employees.[9]

Federal and state tax credits and subsidies encourage such assistance. Section 190 of the Tax Reform Act of 1986, for example, "allows up to $35,000 annually in income tax savings for costs associated with site improvements" that might benefit customers as well as employees.[10] Such accommodations are sometimes referred to as "contingency management." Once the appropriate site improvements have been made, once the handicapped employee has been guaranteed satisfactory access to the work station and has received a tailored job description, the training commences. Employers can expect to be compensated at least in part for their training time and for expenditures for "consumable supplies used in training." At some properties, working relationships with the state and private agencies also include the provision of an agency-sponsored "Job Coach" to attend the trainee on the job and ensure that "the job gets done."[11]

Yet another tax incentive promotes the hiring of the handicapped. Through 1985, for example, the Targeted Job Tax Credit (TJTC) extended to the employer "tax credit of 50

percent of a qualified employee's first $6,000 in wages for one year, or up to $3,000. There is no limit on the number of employees to whom an employer can apply the tax credit, and when an employee moves from one company to another, the new employer is also entitled to the tax credit."[12]

One of the purposes of the Targeted Job incentive is to offset any reduced productivity while the trainee is gaining job familiarity. But there is some ambivalence about the importance of tax incentives from within the Marriott Corporation as well as from without. One Congressional critic, Representative William A. Steiger of Wisconsin, spoke for many of the external critics. In the House debates over such tax incentives, Steiger protested that "the beneficiaries of this credit are going to be only those who would hire new people anyway. They will then take advantage of the tax credit, not as a stimulus to create jobs, but simply as a prize for having hired people they were going to hire anyway." [13]

Reflections on tax incentives from within the Marriott Corporation usually indicate that, even without them, the handicapped program would continue. But there is no unanimity. Directors and managers at some sites are confident that the loss of tax credits would dramatically trim their hiring programs; at other sites members of the management team are just as confident that, with or without tax credits, their programs would continue much as before. One way to account for this difference of opinion is to consider each opinion within its local economic context. Where unemployment is low and the handicapped and elderly more critical to meet labor needs (as in the Boston area, e.g.), incentives such as tax credits are hailed as essential. Actually, a tax incentive in these areas is more reasonably construed as one of Steiger's prizes "for having hired people they were going to hire anyway." One director called it frosting on the cake. Meanwhile, in areas of higher unemployment such as New Orleans, according to another director, the advantages of tax credits are sometimes washed out by the presence of a large pool of idle persons who, if hired, would be unlikely to job-hop or indulge in absenteeism even from the drudge jobs of the hospitality and food service industries.

Training the Handicapped

Marriott's comprehensive Handicap Employment Program is based on the belief that with the proper job-match, training, and support a handicapped worker can benefit self and company. While each actual matching, training, and supporting activity might be tailored

to the specific individual and job, the overall Program consists of seven specific components:

1) Liaison with organizations which serve the disabled.

2) Job Referral Network.

3) Job Match.

4) Management training.

5) Employee employment training.

6) In-house communications and employee recognition, and

7) Corporate giving.

Routine training programs for the mentally handicapped involve the building of good habits. Indeed, even when the trainee has not received prior vocational training, training in "social awareness"--improving one's ability to get along with others, learning to be prompt, to develop habits of cleanliness (covering ones' mouth when sneezing, e.g.)--is often the major part of the training program. According to one director's estimate, social training commonly represents two-thirds of the program. Only one-third involves training in job skills. Another training program director told us, "It doesn't take much time to teach most of our trainees how to do their jobs. To learn social awareness takes much longer."[14]

Following the successful completion of the training program, the mentally handicapped trainee is technically prepared to take a regular place in the workforce. The chances are good that such an employee will make the grade. If a question about retention remains, it commonly depends upon how others will look upon this new worker.[15] Especially does the question now become: are the managers, directors, and supervisors going to be serious about this new employee?

Managerial attitudes are remarkably contagious. Given the Corporate endorsement of the hiring of the mentally handicapped, managers are predisposed to be totally supportive. Most apparently are. At properties managed by such enthusiastic persons, we found subordinates were also supportive. Still, there is the inevitable occasional incident of management-level fear, apprehension, indifference, and even revulsion. There might well

be an initial managerial concern about how the public will receive the mentally handicapped worker. This "cash register concern" is speedily dispelled, however, for Marriott's guests and customers seem to be not at all ill disposed toward such handicapped workers. Occasionally, it is reportedly difficult to encourage a director or overseer to treat the newly hired handicapped employees as "real" workers. To the detriment of the handicapped worker program, such a management person might not even expect mentally handicapped workers to "punch in" or hold them to ordinary expectations during the workday. Management revulsion, fortunately rare, is a more difficult reaction to overcome. But even such extreme negativism can be reversed. We will return to this point later.

All in all, Marriott management and co-workers are likely to be the best source of positive vocational support that the mentally handicapped could hope for. Even better than the parents, in many instances. Indeed, if someone is going to sabotage the chances of a trained handicapped worker, that someone will most likely be a parent. Many directors and supervisors are convinced that parents, by their own attitudes toward their offspring's jobs, consistently make or break handicapped workers' chances for success. The parent who reinforces the Marriott desire to integrate the workers and who refrains from seeking special concessions for his or her child is the one whose child will more likely be successful. The same parent who is anxious to have Jane or Johnnie get a job, however, will too often be unwilling to treat the job seriously after Jane or Johnnie lands it. It is not uncommon for a parent to phone the youth's supervisor and ask, "Can Johnnie have Tuesday off? His Aunt Jessica will be coming by and, well, Johnnie and she haven't seen much of each other lately. I thought it would be nice for them to get together." Or, "Could Jane have Friday off? I'm planning to go shopping downtown on that day and I'd like to take Janie with me. She just loves the hustle and bustle, not to mention the candy store on Cherry Street. The outing would be so good for her!" Directors and supervisors sigh and voice shared agreement that it is a most difficult task to make some parents understand that their offspring have actually entered a work force, that they are filling needed job-slots, and that they are being counted on to fulfill their responsibilities.

Which parents are most likely to create dissonance? Are they most likely to come from the lower or higher classes? Anecdotal observations from managers fail to address such questions in a helpful way. But the studies of Melvin L. Kohn do address these concerns.[16] Kohn begins with the premise that parents commonly want their children to be economically literate. The desire remains constant, even when a given child is mentally or physically handicapped. But the different social class backgrounds of the parents tend to

impart different nuances of meaning to this desire. Lower class parents, for example, are more likely to impress upon their children the values of obedience, diligence, honesty, neatness, punctuality, the basic values of the marketplace and the world of work. Obedience to external authority and the virtues of conformity are also likely to be favorably viewed. As one moves toward the higher classes, however, values of work and obedience begin to be overshadowed by an increasing parental appreciation of the child's curiosity, considerations of the grounds of the offspring's happiness, and the promotion of self-control in the child. "Whether consciously or not, parents tend to impart to their children lessons derived from the conditions of life in their own social class--and thus help prepare their children for a similar class position."[17]

Given Kohn's findings, it is likely that the parents most likely to create dissonance between the handicapped employees and management are representatives of the middle to upper classes. The work values stressed by the Marriott Corporation would be middle to lower class according to Kohn's findings. All parents of Marriott's handicapped workers, regardless of their own social class and corresponding value structure, would serve their children best by affirming the values of obedience to external authority and the demands of the workplace. Middle to upper class parents are most likely to be out of phase, most likely to be unaware of the need to stress what might perhaps be an alien set of values for their handicapped offspring.

Had Kohn's studies been based upon the religious preferences of the families studied, of course, he might have reached another set of conclusions. He might have been able to see that Mormon parents--of whatever social class--would be unlikely to undermine their handicapped child's chances to succeed on the job. The devout Mormon is by definition a believer in hard work and honesty--the full range of work ethic values. These are the central "family of values" of the Marriott Corporation.

The Individual Worker Approach Versus the Enclave Approach

There are snakes in every Paradise. Even under the best teams of employee motivators, even under the policy of a most humanely nurturing company, even, in other words, under the aegis of the Marriott Corporation, not all supervisors and normal employees are willing to accommodate themselves to the mentally retarded. But at the sites we visited there seemed to be one pattern of conditions that encouraged accommodation and another that

bred dissatisfactions. We did not find evidences of dissatisfaction with the Corporate handicapped hiring policy among normal employees or members of the management team at those properties whose directors hired the handicapped singly, much as they would hire other individual trainees. At properties where we did find expressions of resistance or disappointment with the mentally handicapped, we also found that the property followed the enclave approach in taking on these employees.

"Make haste slowly" has been an effective and tacit motto of those whose goal it is to achieve a totally integrated workforce. Hiring, training, and assisting each mentally handicapped individual as a single new hire--taking on first one, then another, and another--seems to have been the more certain way to reach all the desired ends of the Corporation. Through the gradualist approach the normal workers quickly became familiar and comfortable with the new arrival and gave him or her a sense of belonging. Supervisors reportedly made the necessary accommodations without being overwhelmed or discouraged by the unexpected novelties of the situation. One director of human resources tactfully converted even the skeptics on her management team to the handicapped program by way of this low-profile "infiltration" policy. The last hold-out at this particular property, the director of housekeeping, finally "came around" after seeing how well the handicapped were doing in other work areas. When the housekeeping director took the initiative and expressed a willingness to try a mentally handicapped worker on his team, he symbolically demonstrated the wisdom of the gradualist strategy at that property. With no major incidents or stubborn resistance, without directly forcing the acceptance of a policy on any colleague, the director of human resources had achieved a thoroughly integrated work force.

The enclave approach, on the other hand, can produce an unsettling encounter with the mentally handicapped. When a participating agency sends over six or twelve handicapped at once and puts them to work in one location, the kitchen, for example, the likelihood of resistance and opposition, of impatience and revulsion, multiplies.[18] When normals' negative predispositions are "confirmed" by the mentally handicapped, it is likely to be in an enclave encounter. Left unchecked and permitted to grow at a property, negativism can kill the spirit of support for a handicapped program. In each of the following illustrations of such negativism, we hold the enclave approach accountable for the attitudes expressed.

To illustrate: one member of the management team at a hotel was explaining that the local center for the handicapped wanted to receive payment for providing the hotel with trainees. "Now the local centers for the handicapped want us to pay for the privilege of dealing with

their clients. They think they are offering us a good deal, saying we can take their six clients on a 2-for-1 deal. Each two clients at $4/hour ($2 each per hour). But why should we go along with such a deal? We already give their clients uniforms, we feed them, we give them a sense of being at home, we let them break everything in sight without charging them one red cent--you can hear a dish break every five minutes around here. We keep them around even when they are totally non-productive. They eat a ton of food. They go into the cafeteria and sit, all together, eating. They won't eat in shifts, but only in a bunch. One of them is belching. Another is picking his nose. Other employees come into the cafeteria and lose their appetites. They resent having to eat with MRs all around them. It's like being with Jack Nicholson in *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest!* And now they want us to pay them, too??!! Why, in the name of common sense, should we pay these mentally handicapped trainees?" this person asked rhetorically.

There is resentment, as well, about the mentally retarded as an excessive drain on the profit margin. "We have gone so far as to *create* jobs just for the handicapped to have something to do! Take our silver-polishing projects, for example. We used to polish silver only when things slacked off a bit. Our regulars did it. Now, we've hired the mentally handicapped to do it on a regular basis. Are we better off? Is the customer being served better? Personally, I don't think so. 'Make-work' is not the way for us to go."

Some focus their complaints on their arrangements with the local centers for the handicapped. "Take the counselors or job coaches that our centers provide. What a joke. First, the centers get really pushy about taking their clients. Then when we explain our problems with their clients in the past, they say, 'Don't worry, our coaches will take care of everything.' Take care of everything, my eye. Their so-called job coaches are just as often as not no-shows, or if they are here, they spend their time making personal phone calls or reading novels. Sometimes they even ask for an office! What the hell for? Their duty station is out there on the floor with their clients, not off in an office! And, by the way, where do they think we are supposed to find an office anyway? There's not two feet of unused space around here! Sometimes they bring in outside guests to show off their important jobs around here. Sometimes that's not so bad. But they are likely to bring in this herd just at rush-time here in the kitchen. To take pictures! To ask workers to pose for them! What the hell's going on around here? If the coach can't come in on a given day, the Center sends the six clients anyway. That's not right. If the coaches or counselors or whatever they are supposed to be can't come in on a given day, their clients shouldn't be allowed to come, either. The regular folks all have their own jobs to do. And they all lack

the skills to deal with these clients. The counselors screw up a lot when they are here, all right, but when they are gone there is nothing but 'down time' around this place."

The patience of some "normals" working under enclave arrangements is badly frayed: "I am a chef, not a specialist in dealing with the handicapped. I don't get paid to take care of their problems. And I shouldn't have to work under these conditions." Among others, patience is gone: "I think that the Marriott Hotels are a poor place for these people to be."

There is little doubt that the mentally retarded are at best a mixed blessing to some articulate "normal" employees. And prejudices are always at the ready to sabotage any well-intentioned policy. But the "make haste slowly" approach seems to have been more consistently effective than the enclave approach. It seems to have brought out the best in the "normal" population, the best in the handicapped worker, and it has done the better job of maintaining an integrated workforce.

[1]See Appendix B, *infra,* to appreciate the awards won by the Marriott Corporation over the years for its work with the handicapped.

[2]Aimee Morner. "A Difference of Opinion." *Fortune* , January 29, 1979, p. 101.

[3]Ibid., p. 102.

[4]See, e.g., Marc Levinson, "Labor Scarcity is Costly and Will Get Worse," *Economic Perspective,* August 1986, p. 31.

[5]Maryellen Kennedy, "Movin' out on the Eden Express," reprinted from *Tables,* August, 1985, Issue II., by the National Restaurant Association. See also, Roger Ricklefs, "Faced with Shortages of Unskilled Labor, Employers Hire More Retarded Workers," *Wall Street Journal,* 21 October 1986.

[6]The front-desk manager at the Washington Marriott tells a tale of Bill Marriott's loyalty to his employees. Marriott happened to be walking past the desk just as a man was fuming at one of the desk clerks because he had lost his room by arriving after the 6:00 p.m. deadline. The man recognized Marriott and asked for his help. "The easiest thing for Mr. Marriott to do would be to make an exception of the rules for this fellow", recalled the front-desk manager. "He didn't. He stood by the desk clerk's decision. That meant a lot to us." Wayne F. Nelson, "Washington's Best Employers," *The Washingtonian,* quoted on p. 244.

[7]Ibid.

[8]See William E. Smart, "Workers with Something Extra," *Washington Post,* Tuesday, January 20, 1987, p. E5. Smart quotes Pam Farr, director of equal employment opportunity and affirmative action for the Marriott Corporation headquarters in Washington, who indicates that retardation levels range from mild through moderate to severe. Individuals with many handicapping conditions, including the following, are entitled to protection under the law: mental illness, blindness, deafness, diabetes, epilepsy, rheumatoid arthritis, paraplegia, cosmetic disfigurement, loss of limb(s), asthma, cerebral palsy leukemia heart disease, cancer, alcoholism, and drug abuse. AIDS and ARC, an AIDS-related complex, also, in some states at least, qualify as handicapping conditions, perhaps to the chagrin of the Marriott Corporation. See Donna DiBlase, "Worker Sues Marriott for AIDS Discrimination," in *Business Insurance,* January 25, 1988, p. 1, 65. Also see Appendix A, *infra.*

[9]To illustrate a typical behavioral modification program designed to improve attendance: Week One, if the employee comes to work four out of five days, a $5 bonus will be awarded; Week Two, if the employee reports for work *on time* four out of five days, a $5 bonus will be awarded; Week Three, if the employee reports for work on time *every day,* a $5 bonus will be awarded; Week Four, if the employee comes to work every day on time *and* breaks no dishes, etc..

[10]Jim Peters, "Alternative Labor Pool," *Restaurant Business,* September 1, 1987, p. 187.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid. Effective January 1986, the credit was reduced to forty percent.

[13]*Congressional Record--House,* March 8, 1977, p. 6592.

[14]Oral interview, 9 February 1988. This director's experience raises questions about those secondary school programs for the handicapped that stress vocational skill training. Teachers preparing handicapped students for work with the Marriott Corporation (or other integrated workshop arrangements) would be well advised to concentrate on the building of social skills and leave the building of job-skills for on-the-job training. Still, educational leaders continue to advocate more vocational training. A typical set of findings has it that students should be entered in more, not fewer, vocational training courses and

exposed to more career awareness programs. Little is made of social skill-building See, e.g., *Rights of Passage: Final Report of the Task Force on The Transition from School to Work for Montgomery County Students with Disabilities* (Rockville, Maryland, Montgomery County Public Schools, Montgomery County Government, September, 1985), p. 9.

[15]Of all the handicapped, it is the deaf, we learned, who seem to have a special knack for making other workers feel negative. Their frustrations at trying to communicate are occasionally misunderstood as a form of surliness or petulance. One hears variations on this remark: "Deaf folks tend to have chips on their shoulders."

[16]Melvin L. Kohn, *Class and Conformity: A Study in Values* (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1969).

[17]Ibid., p. 200.

[18]The enclave arrangement is easier for the job coaches. All their charges are together. Under the "individual hires" arrangement, however, the convenience of the coach is not the chief concern. The coach is expected to oversee handicapped workers wherever they might be, at whatever stations they might be assigned. At Marriott properties where the individual approach is seen as more in keeping with the ideas of "job match" and "treating all employees alike," one might also find the coaches wearing beepers as they make their rounds.

IV

EVERYBODY WINS

It is commonly understood that the mentally retarded are not bored by jobs that are dull tc "normal" workers. Cleaning trays, washing dishes, polishing silver, doing the many routinized repetitive tasks of the hospitality world, are said to be satisfying to the mentally retarded. A manager of a Washington, D. C., department-store chain offered a typical testimonial. In reporting that a retarded worker had been washing pots and pans in the store's kitchens for six years, he noted: "Normally, we would have a turnover of two or three a year in that job." He added that retarded workers "don't get bored as quickly. We don't yet know the full potential of a retarded person."[1]

It is an article of faith within the industry that a proper match of job and worker not only can be found but will prove to be to the advantage of both the company and the individual worker. There is a belief that for every job there is some individual whose capabilities match it. When job description and capabilities have a hand-in-glove fit, and when proper supervision is provided, both employer and employee gain satisfaction. The trick, it is said, is to make the proper match and provide the proper training and supervision.[2] Within the industry, the handicapped program is sometimes referred to as one in which "everybody wins."

The slogan serves to remind us that most handicapping conditions can be accommodated on the job to the benefit of company and handicapped employee alike. A wider entryway to accommodate a wheelchair-bound worker, an audio system to assist a blind computer operator, a revised job description to accommodate a one-armed employee--such "contingency management" and "job accommodations" represent creative ways to widen bases of opportunity.[3] In instances like these, clearly everybody has an opportunity to win. It is good for employer and employee alike, especially in a period of a shrinking labor force. For most handicapped workers, contingency management is a wise investment. Most remarkable proofs of its success are found in those physically handicapped persons

who have been given the fair chance to demonstrate their competitive merit in the work place and fill needed roles. Successful handicapped employees are found at all levels of the corporation--from management to secondary (i.e., low skill-level) work.

There is nonetheless something vaguely unsettling about the slogan, "everybody wins," especially its inference that all mentally retarded workers are also winners. In most cases it seems that both the mentally retarded and the organization win. Surely it is a joy to meet and watch mentally retarded workers who literally glow with satisfaction and achievement. The sensation is inspirational. In their every movement they show that they are proud of what they can do. The corporation, meanwhile, gains workers who are partially subsidized by the government, who are more punctual and who are less inclined to be job-hoppers than "normal" employees, who accept the grindingly limited predictability of many job assignments and who, by working, win for the company the gratitude of parents and guardians who are relieved of the continued burden of their offspring's daily supervision. But there are problems unique to this pool of secondary workers. Occasionally a manager or a director will inject a note of cautious realism in discussing the mentally retarded employees by explaining that the "bottom line is, of course, profits." As one corporate officer remarked, it must not be forgotten that *all* handicapped employees represent part of a "business program, not a social program."[4]

The Pursuit of Elusive Happiness

Hard figures in the form of corporate profits attest to the industry's satisfaction with the program. The physically handicapped are being assimilated in a manner heartwarming to the observer. Other signs, however, only unevenly support the inference that all mentally retarded workers are happy with their mechanical tasks. Some observational and anecdotal evidence points to negative judgments. One need only spend some time watching the workplaces to see that not all mentally retarded employees seem pleasantly disposed toward their work. Some mentally retarded workers are cheerless and even surly as they go through their daily paces. It is certainly not because they are in "sweat shops." Their workplaces are as pleasant and "worker-friendly" as associates and modern technology can provide. Still, if we did not know how proud and important they were supposed to feel, we might believe that these dour workers resented their jobs. We might even be disinclined to call them "winners."

Occasionally, part of their problem seems related to what we might call the "humiliation therapy" used on them by some supervisors. Supervisors' attempts to build proper social skills is never-ending. Even greetings offer opportunities to boost morale and teach social skills. Often the approach is familiar and jovial: "G'morning, Mary! How is everything today? Good!" Sometimes it is a more cordial, "And how are you this fine morning, Mary?"

But more aversive behavioral techniques are also encountered. To illustrate: One trainer, who said she was a certified special educator, took pride in her ability to transform the mentally retarded into genial workers. As we talked in a property kitchen, her sharp eye detected something amiss. "Mary, come here!" (Mary's sour look faded into apprehension. She left her station and approached us.) "Smile when you walk up to me!" (A smile formed, only to disappear almost immediately.) "I want you to meet some visitors, Mary. (Introductions were made. We shook hands and exchanged hellos.) "Can't you shake hands and say hello without looking angry? Now say hello and shake hands again. This time smile at our visitors. Act like you are happy to meet them! What's the matter with you?!" (We repeated the handshakes and hellos. Mary smiled with her mouth alone. We detected something in her look, something like a cross between anger and humiliation . We felt like unwilling accomplices.) "Now look at *me* and smile!" (A weak smile from Mary). "That's more like it. Now go back to work, Mary!" (Mary turned and left. She gave the trainer one short backward glance after reaching her duty station.)[5] If "To miss the joy is to miss all," as Robert Louis Stevenson somewhere said, then Mary was missing it all.

Such behavioral techniques might dig wells of frustrated resentment even as they shape desired behaviors. Few of us so-called "normals" would tolerate such drill sergeant tactics. And, as a general observation, few of us, confronted by such behavioral techniques and faced with such duty assignments day-in and day-out, would be anything but bonkers doing the mentally retarded's job. But our popular rhetoric has it that the mentally retarded find it pleasant enough--enjoyable, if not ennobling, despite reports that some jobs bore even the mentally retarded.[6] When we see what we would normally construe as evidence of mentally retarded workers' dissatisfaction, we are cautioned not to take that evidence at face-value. Perhaps we shouldn't. Even if we do, we are reminded that there is, after all, no perfect job. Elements of boredom creep into most forms of work and refuse to be dislodged. At least some of what we "normals" do on a day-in, day-out basis is dull and of dubious merit. The difference between our two groups, we might choose to believe, is that

we usually manage to disguise feelings that the mentally retarded workers are more likely to display for all to see.

Our own powers of self-restraint are often prodigious. The quality of work in the modern organization has long been lamented by respected critics. Yet, even when we agree with the critics, we usually express neither outrage nor despair at the intrinsic demerits of the workplace. We seem to be numbly resigned to this modern perplexity, smothering our dissatisfactions in a modern blanket of "quiet desperation." Behind our smiles, unseen by any co-workers, our minds might be clouded by the unlovely thought that our jobs could probably be left undone without causing any hardship for anyone but ourselves and our dependents. Or if not left undone, then done much more expeditiously, requiring no more that twenty or thirty hours of our lives each week. Our smiles also mask our acknowledgement that, as employees and in the line of "duty," we have at least occasionally--if not as a matter of "business as usual"--blinked at sham, winked at fraud, and otherwise compromised our values. With the possible exception of the romanticized subsistence farmer, anyone whose work-performance could be totally honest, uncompromisingly moral, essential, and personally uplifting is a rarity approaching saintliness.

According to this critique of work, nearly everyone is living some sort of a lie in the organizational workplace. The ready response to an appeal for special consideration of the case of the mentally retarded worker is to say, no work is perfect. They have problems, yes. So do we. At every spot along the mental-ability continuum, there are malcontents. Whether or not all the mentally retarded like the toil we have left for them to do is a question to be answered with a shrug. The work they do is indeed important to all of us who depend on their provisions for our sustenance. Of course, whatever the flaws of our own employment, none of us would trade jobs with the mentally retarded. For none of us normals is the mentally retardeds' level of work "an uplifting experience."[7]

Robert Levering, Milton Moskowitz, and Michael Katz, authors of *The 100 Best Companies to Work for in America* , left McDonald's out of their select group of companies for just this reason. The authors found no "uplift" for McDonald's army of teenaged workers, they objected to the low wages, and they criticized the "assembly-line operation that leaves employees with little or no time to think." In short, Levering and his associates found the work "dehumanizing, similar to the experiences Charlie Chaplin encountered in Modern Times. We believe it's also true that for most of them [the teenagers], it leads nowhere." Without finding an alternate way for McDonald's to operate,

the authors found that McDonald's "seemed to embrace a system geared to exploiting people in the lower ranks."[8]

The Blur Between Cooperating and Surrendering

Those who are convinced that the system exploits all of us are not likely to be impressed by the conclusions of Levering and his associates. From such classic works as *The Organization Man* to the recent and provocative *Organizational America*, employee exploitation and corporate gain have been inseparable concerns. Quite naturally, the corporations and associations to which we belong want us to put group interests ahead of our own. A popular myth in all climes and places holds that the lowly toilers--doing the dreary grunt work for the collective welfare of the tribe--display a heroic communal loyalty as they contribute to group survival. William G. Scott and David K. Hart find the myth perpetuated by corporate apologists "partly because that kind of fidelity is expected of the employees of modern organizations."[9] The modern organization expects employees to set aside their personal moral codes and ethical values wherever those codes and values run counter to organizational needs. Successful companies invest a good deal of time and money encouraging employees to be ever more uncritically loyal to the company and more passively willing to let others decide their destiny. While employees might realize that they are being manipulated, they are generally pacified by the collective comfort provided by the organization. The warmth of paternal security seems a fair trade for our sense of individual worth and power. McDonald's also tries, within the limits of the secondary work force it must rely on, to provide that warmth of collective comfort.

The authors of the *100 Best Companies to Work For* might implicitly have based their decisions at least in part on a distinction between "work" and "labor." In Scott and Hart's lexicon, for example, the distinction is critical. Work involves both body and mind; it is an activity "whereby individuals can impress their personal identity upon a tangible object: a painting, book, machine, accounting problem, or food preparation. Work, therefore, is an aspect of intellect closely allied to creativity...," and the term applies "to just about any activity that permits the expression of individuality." Labor, however, is a form of toil. "The activity of labor does not permit one person to be differentiated from another. It does not allow individuals to impress their distinctive character upon an object." "A cook in a fast-food franchise labors; a chef in a fine restaurant works." Following the lead of Scott and Hart, we might call McDonald's teenaged employees "laborers," but this does not

lead to the conclusion that laborers alone are "exploited." Scott and Hart distinguish laborers from workers to indicate the importance of levels of intrinsic occupational merits, not to maintain that only one group is exploited.

To worker and laborer, indeed, Scott and Hart add those who have "jobs." Those filling "jobs" are in some respects at the bottom of the occupational barrel. They are the less "significant" among us who are neither workers nor laborers, as Scott and Hart define the terms. Many of us are in that third kind of activity. The modern job removes the worst features from labor and the best features from work. One who has a job has been relieved of the physical discomfort of labor and deprived of the intellectual challenges of work. It is the haven of what we have come to call the paper-pusher. It is a mutation. It is an especially important task of management to make jobs palatable to people who have lost both the opportunity to work and the chance to use their intellect. Management wants all employees to regard their employment highly--call it their work, their labor, or their jobs; it is a prerequisite to satisfactory performance at all levels. But the modern job, imply Scott and Hart, is a special management concern. It is a corrupt outlet for human energy. "Technology and the modern organization have not made work available to the masses, as promised. Rather, the insignificant people have been trapped by a mutated form of labor called the modern job"[10] Organizational employees--call them workers, laborers, jobholders--all are exploited.

According to such dark analyses, the quality of human economic enterprise is suspect, if not tainted on all sides. Those of us who find our lives constrained and driven by organizational imperatives are impelled to ask, where does it all lead? Does the organization merit our uncritical obedience? Does it inspire us by the shining nobility of its purposes? Why, then, do we so supinely let it determine our purposes? Why don't we set about to restore a more humane balance between group imperatives and individual initiative?

It would be relatively easy to rebel if the organization were some stereotypical "evil empire." But modern company manipulation is no longer crudely authoritarian. The "human relations" approach has supplanted bull-necked confrontation. A generation ago William H. Whyte, Jr. observed, "It is not so much that The Organization is going to push the individual around more than it used to. It is that it is becoming increasingly hard for the individual to figure out when he is being pushed around." It is sometimes difficult even to find the correct standards by which to judge whether one is "co-operating or surrendering."[11] The cynic would say that, if McDonald's is an objectionable employer,

it is not because McDonald's exploits "people in the lower ranks," but because it exploits people more cheaply and crudely and obviously than the companies selected as the "best" to work for. To be best is simply to be most subtle.

With varying degrees of subtlety, the modern organization does actively worry about our morale. It is caring. It is beneficent. By such organizational caring, Whyte concluded, we have become "imprisoned in brotherhood."[12] We accept the importance of getting along with one another. By whatever term we choose to call it, we accept corporate exploitation. We accept "policy" with barely a grumble. We accept the corporate focus on organizational welfare over individual welfare. Authoritarianism in the modern organization prospers under the human relations rubric.

Realists and Dreamers

The foregoing line of reasoning is impatient with sentimentalized concerns for the mentally retarded worker. It is a tough-minded assessment of the world of work as most of us, including the employed mentally retarded persons, find it today. It permits no qualifying distinctions to be made between the normal and the retarded. In the whole wide world of work, after all, a less than perfect fit between worker and task is standard. Why should we worry about the on-the-job happiness of the mentally retarded when such happiness is elusive for most of us normals? Besides, most work in the hospitality industry provides the rewards of customer satisfaction. As some employees say, if you like people, you will like working here. Whatever its purpose, the modern organization is likely not to blame for the woes of the workplace. Our own spinelessness, some insist, bears a clearer resemblance to the culprit.

But that concession raises another question. If we can, however reluctantly, blame ourselves for a good share of our on-the-job predicament, can we assume that the mentally retarded are equally to blame for their condition? We normals can articulate and pin-point our concerns. Many of the mentally retarded cannot. Does that mean they have none? How many and what sorts of legitimate and important concerns lie hidden behind their eyes? What would it be like to live as a mentally retarded person in a world where everyone treated your concerns as nonexistent? The mentally retarded more seldom job-hop, we say, implying that there is a fit between them and their labor. They are reportedly satisfied as our hewers of wood and drawers of water. No doubt many or perhaps most

are satisfied to be laboring at an assignment and gaining a sense of a pride in accomplishment. But there just might be another reason why the mentally retarded are less likely to job-hop. They simply *cannot* job-hop. The fact that they remain at the same duty station should not in every case lead us to conclude that their assigned tasks must be rewarding for them.

Even when the mentally retarded are dealt with in ways we would not tolerate for ourselves we shrug, well, they are different. They are happy with things like that. An example: Over several summers the management at one hotel regularly capitalized on a novel opportunity to economize. The hotel was earning an important part of its income from the many activities in its banquet and meeting rooms. The question was how to hold the maintenance costs down to provide the services at a reasonably competitive price. Hotel management arranged to have mentally retarded youth come from the local area to clean the chairs. No social skills needed to be taught. And, with only the leatherette back and seat of each chair to clean, it was a simple job-skill to teach. The youth had simply to spray the cleaner on the seat and wipe it off; then spray the cleaner on the back and wipe it off. They kept the chairs clean each summer, coming daily and working a four-hour shift accompanied by one counsellor for every two of the mentally retarded. In return for all this--for the youth, for their counselors who kept them on-task, and for the transportation--the hotel management gave all of them a free lunch each day.[13] The youth were said to be satisfied with the arrangement; and assuredly the counselors were on some payroll. The rest of the world shrugs. Work has intrinsic value, too. It is good for all of us.

Most professionals who work closely with the handicapped employment programs see the world of work through glowingly romantic eyes. The harsh judgments of the critics of the modern workplace are probably considered to be too intellectually biased, too theoretical, or too wide of the mark to merit professionals' attention. Pure and simple, the professionals, as with one voice, maintain that gainful employment of any sort is good for every one of us. A federal pamphlet on work for the mentally retarded sets a typically enthusiastic tone for work in any form: "There are all kinds of jobs in this world. Some are in nice clean offices; some are in grimy factories. Some are at the 'top,' where executives give orders to others; some are at the 'bottom,' where workers take orders from everyone. All these jobs are important to America. There is no such thing as one job being really more important than another job. All the jobs in America can be performed with pride. All the jobs have built-in dignity.... All jobs are worth while doing."[14]

Such indiscriminate enthusiasm for work is at least implicitly related to the view that everyone has a right to a job. In our culture the view has a Pollyanna ring. In some other cultures its merit might be more apparent. According to Edward Berkowitz, it draws more deeply from the western European tradition than the American experience. Although a Full Employment Act (1946) stands as an American declaration, Berkowitz notes, "it has never been honored as a central point of our public policy."[15] Unlike many other countries, America lacks a social welfare system that begins with the assumption that all Americans have a right to a job. Americans are also reportedly more ambivalent than their counterparts in many other countries about the place of handicapped persons in the work force. Americans are more inclined, for example, to spend money providing income maintenance for a disabled worker than to spend money on rehabilitation with the intent to restore the injured person to the work force. In many other countries different predispositions prevail. Berkowitz concludes that the tendency to claim that dignity inheres in all kinds of work and to hail its importance to the nation as well as to the individual fits several foreign settings better than our own.

But the work-is-dignity claim fits our professionals in all vocational support services. Their uncritical and unqualified enthusiasm for finding a payroll for every handicapped person, for example, might be an ideal of dedication. It is also self-serving and quaintly disfunctional in a society that is predisposed to favor the payment of benefits to the unemployed handicapped with the promise of reducing or eliminating support monies if the handicapped person earns more than $300 or so each month. The line of reasoning that inspired Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI) and Supplemental Security Income (SSI) is largely incompatible with the rhetoric of "jobs for all." Many handicapped, an estimated one-out-of-three, reject work opportunities.[16] Some of them candidly prefer benefits to work. All of them are at least understandably reluctant to work when they have been taught to believe that it is society's assigned task to take care of them.

The professionals speak in the idiom of a work-culture ideal. No such uncompromised ideal exists in American government, but the professionals' rhetoric has the power to persuade impressive segments of society just the same. Relentlessly, the professionals work to strengthen support for vocational preparation programs for youth. All mentally retarded persons are encouraged to be diligent job-hunters. "Job-hunting is not easy for anybody. It is perhaps even more difficult for people who are mentally retarded," reads the pamphlet, *About Jobs and Mentally Retarded People*. The pamphlet goes on to tell the mentally retarded and their advocates that "the search for a job should go on without end,

without giving up." And, above all, "Keep on looking. Don't ever stop." Only that job will justify your existence.[17] The "all-jobs-are-wonderful-and-you-should-be-grateful" people are in control of the mentally retardeds' world.

Their attitude should win the hearty endorsement of the Marriott leadership. Self-reliance, debt avoidance, and the work ethic rank high with the Marriott family and their Mormon faith. In the Gentile (i.e., the non-Mormon) world, the faith versus works controversy continues, Catholics and Protestants often dividing over the question. Devout Mormons, however, are not ambivalent or divided on this point. Work has sharp significance. Idleness is a curse, the dole is an evil. A life without gainful work is a wasted life; and "welfare without work is a grave sin...."[18] The gospel of work is the Mormon key to salvation. One must have faith, to be sure; but eternal joy depends on one's works.[19] Professional advocates, in their zeal to promote gainful employment for the handicapped, speak the Mormon idiom. The Marriott viewpoint on work is an endorsement of the professionals' stance. Mormon theology and mainstream professionalism are totally committed to the gospel of work.

But what if the mentally handicapped person fails to gain and hold a job after job-seeker and parents have placed their full trust in all this rhetoric? The professionals responsible for such views as contained in this pamphlet have denied to their clients any alternative routes to a sense of self-worth save getting a paid job. They have stripped the handicapped individual of all prospects of self-respect or a worthy life without gainful employment. Meanwhile, for all or a large part of many handicapped persons' lives, chronic unemployment remains a fact. For them non-vocational outlets will be needed. Who would say directly into their faces that there is no way for them to develop a suitable self-concept save through the dignity of a job?

When a professional is found admitting that "There seems to be a hard core of kids who just never get jobs," the remark seldom leads to a reassessment of the work ethic for the retarded.[20] Rarely and refreshingly, however, a professional looks at that "hard core" and sees alternatives. William J. Schill and David B. Ryckman, for example, instructively challenge the belief in the "rewards of work" for the retarded. They urge us to "question the assumption that all work is psychologically rewarding." Albert Camus speaks for them: "Without work all life goes rotten," Camus wisely noted, "but when work is soulless, life stifles and dies." Believing that many retarded are likely to remain part of a "leisure class" in society, Schill and Ryckman insist that learning leisure skills is as

important as being trained vocationally. "To emphasize only vocational skills," Schill and Ryckman conclude, "is to deny the retarded access to a truly full and satisfying life."[21]

In spite of such calls for alternative strategies, the vocational imperative continues as the unchallenged aim. Most professionals seem unable to envision non-vocational ways to feel productive (for non-handicapped as well as the handicapped). Other professionals are sympathetic to alternatives when speaking off-the-record, but remain frankly unwilling to promote non-vocational routes to fulfillment, seeing it as a futile effort at best and professionally suicidal at worst.[22] Still, it remains true that gardening, crafts, uplifting activities of many sorts have proven to make lives significant without paychecks. Though such activities "are often referred to as 'leisure-time' skills, the term has little meaning except in a life dominated by employment." Indeed "there is evidence that those (not in employment) who had daily occupations outside the home were as content with their lives as those who had paid jobs."[23]

And yet it remains an oft-repeated (and sometimes hollow) article of faith among the professionals promoting education for the handicapped that "Perhaps more than anything, the opportunity to work and to be productive legitimizes a person's place in the community and contributes to the sense of self-worth."[24] The professionals and their councils of concerned citizens regularly assert that there should be programs and services "to enable *all* special education students to make a successful transition from school to meaningful work and community participation."[25] (They seldom miss a chance to assure us that the work they will arrange for their clients is going to be "meaningful.") The promoters of handicapped employment routinely equate having a legitimate social place with having a job--that is, being on a payroll. This is a popular assumption. When these promoters further tie the having of a job with doing something "meaningful" and then link that with being "productive," they continue to strike responsive chords. Armies of professionals in the field, prospective employers, and parents arouse the sympathy of the legislators. Their faith prospers. Naysayers are ignored. Funds are allocated.[26]

The vocationalists' faith is no longer wondrously spellbinding, however. Economists and psychologists have long since grown skeptical. The placement track record of secondary-school and residential vocational programs (e.g., Job Corps) is an embarrassment. Even the laity note that it is simply untrue that all confident and worthy persons equate holding a job with being productive. For some the ennui of work is made tolerable only by prime-time television or the creative delights of avocational pursuits. Nonetheless, the vocational people remain evangelically committed to their calling. With the federal government

pegging an "acceptable" level of national unemployment at or near six percent and using the myth of "structural unemployment" to explain away the crisis-level unemployment figures for black teenagers, professional vocationalists have opened a new market for themselves by promising to give skills, training--and "meaningful work"--to *"all"* the handicapped.[27] And they choose not to hear the corporation supervisors who cast doubt on structural unemployment by maintaining that skill-training can be managed easily at the worksite.

The promoters of vocationalism, it is further charged, make a universal truth out of a class-biased proposition.[28] Their proposition applies to children of lower class parents better than to children from higher class backgrounds. Children in the latter category especially are likely to be exposed to the notion that the quality of life and the quest for happiness also count in the consideration of work. Lower class parents are more likely to subscribe to such workplace values as obedience to external authority, punctuality, and neatness. The mentally retarded from homes in which other values prevail might be far less able to adjust to the workplace. Still, it is widely assumed as unqualifiedly true that to provide work for any mentally retarded person is to do him or her a favor. Most experts speak with one voice for the mentally retarded. The mentally retarded ordinarily have little choice but to comply.

The signals are mixed. At the higher corporate reaches and among the professionals, the placement of the mentally retarded in the workplace is a celebration. It is a contagious feeling. We all want to believe that the program is a blessing to everyone.

The Marriott Corporation is assuredly one of the nation's most humanely attuned employers; and we want to believe that "everybody wins." In the trenches, however, and among other observers of the economic scene, discordant notes are heard. We want to ignore them. But there they are. They remind us that too many of us--not just the corporation, not just the professionals--have been indifferent to the quality of economic life and to the mentally retarded as people. We would have to deny that they are part of the human family to ignore some of the more unpleasant realities of their daily lives at the workplace. They invite us to rethink the meaning of work and the sense of self-worth. They invite us to ponder anew the human condition. If we accept their invitation, everybody might win, after all.

[1]Quoted by Roger Ricklefs, "Faced with Shortages of Unskilled Labor, Employers Hire More Retarded Workers," *Wall Street Journal,* October 21, 1986.

[2]"Individuals identified, properly matched with the job, followed by proper training and support can significantly benefit both the company and the employe," said Pam Farr, director of equal employment opportunity and affirmative action for the Marriott Corporation. See *Washington Post,* Tuesday, January 20, 1987, p. E5.

[3]The Job Accommodation Network (JAN) provides assistance to employers who want to hire disabled persons. JAN's counselors advise expeditious and inexpensive ways to modify procedures or equipment to enable the disabled worker to function on the job. It is a service of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped and has its own toll-free hot-line: 1-800-JAN-PCHE. Pam Farr, the director of equal employment opportunity and affirmative action for Marriott Corporation, estimated that "the cost of accommodating developmentally disabled workers is less than $100 in 90 percent of the cases." Quoted by William E. Smart, "Workers With Something Extra," a reprint of the National Restaurant Association with the permission of the *Washington Post,* n.d., n.p.

[4]See N. C. McBride, "Firms Find It Pays to Hire the Retarded," *Christian Science Monitor,* February 11, 1987, p. 1.

[5]The use of the "humiliation" approach with the mentally retarded was encountered more than once. Another case: (We are sitting with a supervisor in the cafeteria. A mentally retarded uniformed worker passes by.) "Billy, come over here." (Billy approaches. He is a happy fellow, beaming brightly.) "Just look at your apron!" ("You want to see my apron?") "That apron is very dirty, Billy. You know better than to wear a dirty apron to work!" ("This isn't my apron. Mine is at home. My mother forgot to wash it.") "Whose responsibility is it to have a clean apron?" ("My mother just forgot.") "Billy, it is not your mother's responsibility to see that you have a clean apron every day, and you know it! Now tell me, whose responsibility is it?" ("Mine.") "Say it again!" ("Mine.") "Whose apron are you wearing?" ("George's apron.") "Now you have two aprons to clean tonight, don't you--yours and George's?" ("Yes.") "Okay, Billy, go on about your work. But don't ever forget your clean apron again!" (Billy turns and leaves, his smile gone.) This was a milder exchange than the one involving Mary. The point of similarity, and of humiliation, was in being chastised in front of strangers.

[6]According to the findings of Marc W. Gold, some jobs are too dull and unchallenging even for the mentally retarded. Gold "argued that the boring and personally destructive nature of many jobs" led to the dismissal of some mentally retarded workers for the mistaken reasons of "social inadequacy or odd behavior." The conclusion is that "only when the retarded receive training adequate for them to experience job fulfillment via interesting and demanding work, will it be possible to isolate the effects of inadequate personality and poor social adjustment in any meaningful way." See Gold, "Research on the Vocational Habilitation of the Retarded: The Present, The Future," in *International Review of Research in Mental Retardation,* edited by N. R. Ellis, vol. 6 (New York: Academic Press, 1973): p. 97-147; cited in James Ward, et al., "Vocational Preparation for the Mildly Retarded: An Investigation into Employment Patterns and Related Factors," (North Ryde, Australia: Macquarie University, 1976), pamphlet, p. 10.

[7]Robert Levering, Milton Moskowitz, and Michael Katz, *The 100 Best Companies to Work For in America* (New York: Signet Edition, 1987), p. 469. The authors were in this instance referring to McDonald's--the nation's largest employer of teenagers--but , implicitly, their remark applies as well to like arrangements within the Marriott Corporation.

[8]Ibid., pp. 469, 470. McDonald's offers four important responses to such criticism: (1) A job at McDonald's is usually the first work experience of their teenagers.

(2) Since they are youth learning how to work, the McDonald's workplace discipline is good for them. (3) Many ex-employees come back years later to work for McDonald's again. (4) And, after all, McDonald's does create employment opportunities. Ibid. In addition, McDonald's "McJobs" effort as a way to meet recruitment needs for the disabled, has been hailed as worthy of emulation. See, e.g., *Out of the Job Market: A National Crisis* (Washington, D. C.,: The President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, n. d.), pamphlet, p. 18.

[9]William G. Scott and David K. Hart, *Organizational America,* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979), p. 113.

[10]Ibid., pp. 111f, 115f.

[11]William H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man,* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1957), p. 184.

[12] Ibid., p. 13.

[13]From an interview with a director of human resources. Faced with such incidents, and with the generally unsettling question of the truth of our public attitude toward the mentally retarded employee, one is reminded of the history of the education of blacks, so deeply rooted in exploitive economic interests. Liberals claimed to be providing the blacks with a social, moral, and economic education, while critics concluded that the aim of the blacks' schooling was to socialize them into a new form of subjugation. Black employees were cheaper, more tractable. They were a hedge against unionized white labor. Southern prosperity, after the Civil War, was said to hinge on productive black labor. Indeed, one way to train the white workers to docility was to show how economically useful black workers could be. By controlling the black workers, some employers saw a way to check the power of the white workers. See James D. Anderson, "Education as a Vehicle for the Manipulation of Black Workers," in *Work, Technology, and Education,* edited by Walter Feinberg and Henry Rosemont, Jr. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975). pp. 22-27 *passim*.. Much the same could be concluded about the twentieth-century educational experiences of white children in the public schools. For all races and ethnic groups, twentieth-century schooling has been linked to employability. A majority have long tied the value of schooling to a house in the suburbs, a new car, and a big stash of discretionary money. Educators and progressives have had "an almost tunnel-vision of technology as the touchstone for the good society...." Progressive education was "first and foremost designed to develop the skills, work habits, and social attitudes that were required by the changing nature of work in the United States during the early decades of this century, and second, it was designed to rationalize the processes of production and education. ... Thus if the 'new progressives' now perceive an increasing discrepancy between the world of work and the school house it can only mean that the nature of work is changing yet again." Feinberg and Rosemont, "Training for the Welfare State,", in Ibid., p. 63, 71.

[14]*About Jobs and Mentally Retarded People* (Washington, D. C.,: The President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, National Association for Retarded Citizens, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1979), pamphlet, [p. 4].

[15]Edward Berkowitz, "Part I: Reactions and Recommendations," George Washington University, Washington, D. C. , n.d. From a photocopy of his article in an unknown publication, page indicated is 184.

[16]*Out of the Job Market: A National Crisis* , pp. 2, 7. Two-thirds of all disabled persons between the ages of 16 and 64 do not hold jobs. Ibid.

[17]*About Jobs and Mentally Retarded People*, [pp. 11, 13].

[18]Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power.* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1984), p. 125.

[19]Scriptural support for the primacy of work abounds for the Mormons in *The Book of Mormon, The Doctrine and Covenants,* and *The Pearl of Great Price.* For example, "Be faithful until I come, for I come quickly; and my reward is with me to recompense every man according as his work shall be. I am Alpha and Omega. Amen." *Doctrine and Covenants* 112-34; and "For behold the field is white already to harvest; and lo, he that thrusteth in his sickle with his might, the same layeth up in store that he perisheth not, but bringeth salvation to his soul; And faith, hope, charity, and love, with an eye single to the glory of God, qualify him for the work." Ibid., 4-4,5. Work is a metaphor for winning souls as well as for economic activity, just as it should be according to the theocratic principles of Mormonism. But the Mormons are not alone in stressing works. Some Gentile Christians (primarily Protestants) also construe certain Biblical passages as touting work over faith, especially James 2:14-20. (In that passage, however, work appears to mean good deeds or charity.) A seemingly unequivocal denial of the primacy of works, however, occurs elsewhere in the *Bible* (in Romans, chapters 3 and 4, e.g).. And the faith-over-works implications of Matthew 7, which extends the invitation to "consider the lilies of the field," are staggering.

[20]Eugene Edgar, quoted in the *Highline Times,* Burien, Washington, June 8, 1988, p. 1.

[21]William J. Schill and David B. Ryckman, "Career Education for the Retarded?" *Canadian Vocational Journal,* Vol. 15, February, 1980, pp. 9, 10, 32.

[22]Based on conversations with professionals.

[23]Helen M. Cameron-Smith, *The Life Situation of Some Mildly Handicapped Young Adults: A Follow-Up Study* (Monash University, August, 1981), p. 40, quoted by Warren Mann and Alan Gregory, *The Employment Environment for Mildly Intellectually Handicapped Young People* (Clayton Victoria, Australia: Monash University, 1981), pamphlet, p. 24.

[24]See, e.g., *Rights of Passage: Final Report of the Task Force on The Transition from School to Work for Montgomery County Students with Disabilities* (Rockville, Maryland, Montgomery County Public Schools, Montgomery County Government, September, 1985), p. 2.

[25]Ibid., p. 15. Italics in original.

[26]"Although the reputation of vocational education among economists has gradually declined, and although academic psychologists have become increasingly skeptical of the assumptions behind vocational guidance, legislators still take their cues from AVA [American Vocational Asociation] lobbyists, who present a rosy picture of vocational education and its achievements." Joseph F. Kett, "The Adolescence of Vocational Education," in *Work, Youth, and Schooling: Historical Perspectives on Vocationalism in American Education,* edited by Harvey Kantor and David B. Tyack (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1982), p. 109.

[27]Structural unemployment purports to account for joblessness in good times or bad. It holds that the unemployed lack the preparation, the training, and skills to handle the available work opportunities. The idea of structural unemployment is central to the vocational emphasis that permeates modern public education. It is more profitable than the concepts of cyclical and frictional unemployments which are tied to economic cycles and do not posit that the cause of unemployment is inadequate training. Adherence to the idea of structural unemployment keeps a vast number of specialists, special educators, vocational educators, directors of vocational training, Job Corps, and governmental workers

employed; and helps legislators gain financial support from PACs and build strength within their constituencies.

[28]See, e.g., Melvin L. Kohn, *Class and Conformity: A Study in Values* (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1969).

APPENDIX A

MARRIOTT CORPORATION
HANDICAPPED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM*

Marriott's philosophy on employment of individuals with disabilities is: Individuals who are properly matched with the job, followed by the proper training and support can significantly benefit both the company and the employee.

Marriott Corporation employs several thousand persons with disabilities. The Company's program for employment of persons with disabilities consists of seven specific components:

1) Liaison with organizations which serve the disabled.
2) Job Referral Network.
3) Job Match.
4) Management training.
5) Employee employment training.
6) In-house communications and employee recognition, and
7) Corporate giving.

The Company works with hundreds of organizations which serve individuals with disabilities on a national, regional, and local level.

On the national level, the Company's corporate Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) staff in Washington, D. C. works with a national network of service agencies and organizations to: Learn about the specific nature of mental and physical disabilities, identify barriers to employment, and learn about new technology which can be used to adapt the work environment to enable the disabled to function effectively in the work place.

The corporate staff works with the public and the private organizations to provide rehabilitation, education, medical care, and job training. Marriott representatives

*This material is from the narrative which accompanies a Marriott video tape used to explain the Corporation handicap employment program.

communicate the employment needs of the Company, with particular emphasis given to job-seeking skills, career education, curriculum development, and on-the-job training programs.

Organizations are selected which represent the total spectrum of employment life-cycle, beginning at the transition from school to the workplace. On occasion, the Company EEO Staff Members, Human Resource Directors, and Managers, hold workshops at organizations for the disabled to inform them of the job opportunities available within the Company, and to encourage them to apply for the positions for which they feel qualified.

At the regional level, Human Resource Representatives and Operations Managers seek-out referral sources. These representatives work first with the organization to communicate the Company's business objectives, types of jobs available, and skills necessary. Often, on-site visits are arranged so that individuals such as Rehabilitation Counselors, who refer the disabled job candidates, understand the job-site and the job requirements. The Regional Company Representatives, in turn, refer the organizations to specific units, where the jobs are available.

Critical to the success of the employment relationship is the proper job match; matching the individual applicant's skills and abilities with the actual job requirements. A trained specialist who understands both the abilities of the disabled person and the job requirements, can serve as the translator and consultant to identify job accommodations, training support, and supervisory requirements.

Currently, Marriott employs persons with physical and mental disabilities in every division within the corporation. Once successful job matches are made at the local level, Marriott Managers implement the standardized Company training programs. In conjunction with the referral sources, Managers learn to modify and/or augment the training programs to maximize successful job training. Some of our hotels and restaurants are used as training sites where volunteers and salaried counselors help students with disabilities learn to prepare for competitive jobs. Our Managers are also instructed to review, clarify, and define their job requirements and qualifications to ensure that job requirements do not screen-out qualified applicants with disabilities, that they are job-related, and are consistent with business necessity and the safe performance of the job.

Many individuals with disabilities hold such positions as: Manager, attorney, chief engineer, payroll administrator, banquet steward, computer programmer, data-entry operator, secretaries, senior clerk, PDX operator, laundry attendant, housekeeper, chef, pantry attendant, utility worker. Marriott has found that individuals with disabilities have equal, or better, safety records than the general employee population. Also, the cost of accommodating disabled workers is modest. Generally, 75 percent require no accommodation, and the remaining costs are less than $100.00.

Some of the accommodations our Managers have made are: Extended training times; scheduled shifts to correspond to transportation and carpools; alternated sequence of job tasks; provided visual instruction such as color coding, rather than written procedures; simplified tasks, and alternated job-tasks. For example, instead of operating dishwasher, wrap food, package snack trays, set-up food trays, etc. Arrange the work area to limit distractions, limit the number of individuals giving instructions to workers with learning and mental disabilities, extended leave-of-absence periods for employees requiring long or frequent hospital stays; or, treatment programs; installed lights on machinery to indicate "off/on" for the hearing impaired, or use phone adaapters for the hearing impaired.

Marriott Managers ensure that our employees with disabilities are afforded the same opportunity for upward mobility as nondisabled workers. The benefits from this program are three-fold: It's consistent with our EEO program, it produces a generally reliable, punctual work force, and we achieve success in the targeted Tax Credit and Job Training Partnership Act programs.

The Marriott Corporate EEO Department designs and delivers management training programs which outline laws and regulations which apply to persons with disabilities. These training programs address techniques at identifying, hiring, and supervising. Most importantly, these programs seek to change attitudinal barriers which impede the employment of individuals with disabilities. Often, accurate information provided to managers about disabilities and identification of networks to the disabled are the best weapons to counteract stereotypes and remove barriers. The Company uses its in-house communication vehicle, *Marriott World,* which is distributed to over 200,000 employees, to praise and recognize managers who have hired persons with disabilities, many of whom have helped the Company gain recognition with more than 35 awards from different local, state, and national oarganizations for the employment of the disabled.

This publication features articles highlighting success stories that describe how referral sources, Marriott Managers, and employees with disabilities, have worked together to make job-matches a success. It is the belief of the Company that such articles inform and inspire other Marriott Managers to undertake similar activities. The *EE Overview,* a Marriott Publication which is produced by the EEO Staff, provides Managers with information on state and federal handicap laws, Affirmative Action laws, court decisions, and job accommodations. The Corporate Giving program selects organizations which serve individuals with disabilities, to receive monetary and in-kind support based on corporate giving criteria.

The corporation supports those education and employment-related programs that correspond to the basic theme of helping others prepare for gaining and retaining employment. The corporation participates in the United Way of America program which helps organizations directly serving disabled individuals as well as organizations which conduct research and rehabilitation of individuals with disabilities. It is through this multifaceted, geogaphically dispersed program, that the Marriott Corporation seeks to identify, recruit, hire, and train individuals with disabilities.

APPENDIX B

MARRIOTT CORPORATION
EMPLOYMENT/ASSISTANCE TO THE HANDICAPPED:
[AWARDS THROUGH 1987]

YEAR	AWARD	PRESENTED BY	RECEIVING UNIT
1979	Employer of the Year	New York State	F.S.M.
1980	Employer of the Year	Bloomington, MN	Bloomington Inn
1980	Governor's Commendation	Goodwill Industries of America, Inc.	Corporate Headquarters
1980	Employer of the Year	Las Vegas	In-Flite
1981	Employer of the Year	International Assoc. of Psychological Rehab Services	Corporate Headquarters
1981	Employer of the Year	New Jersey Assoc. for Retarded Citizens	Somerset Hotel
1982	Employer of the Year	Chicago Assn. for Retarded Citizens	Chicago Headquarters
1984	Employer of the Year	Clearbrook Center for Handicapped	Schaumburg Marriott Hotel
1984	Employer of the Year	Ray Graham Assn. for Handicapped	Schaumburg Marriott Hotel
1984	Employer of the Year	Commonwealth of Kentucky	Lexington Resort
1984	Employer of the Year	South Carolina Vocational Rehab Service	Columbia Marriott Hotel
1984	Employer of the Year	Goodwill Industries, Inc.	Miami Marriott Hotel
1984	Employer of the Year	Goodwill Industries of New Jersey	Roy Rogers/Bob's BigBoy Restaurants
1984	Employer of the Year	Broward Public School Board, Ft. Lauderdale, Florida	Ft. Lauderdale Marriott Hotel
1984	Employer of the Year	New York State	In-Flite (JFK)
1984	One of the Top Ten United Way Hotels	New York State	Essex House
1984	Employer's Merit Award	Missouri Governor's Committee on the Employment of the Handicapped	St. Louis Airport Hotel

YEAR	AWARD	PRESENTED BY	RECEIVING UNIT
1984	Employer's Merit Award	Missouri Governor's Committee on the Employment of the Handicapped	St. Louis Pavilion Hotel
1985	Outstanding Contributions of the Mentally Retarded	Assn. for Retarded Citizens	Boston Hotel Newton, MA
1985	Employing the Disabled	Hunterdon Occupational Tng. Somerset (NJ)	Marriott Hotel
1985	Certificate of Appreciation	New York Mayor's Committee	New York - Marquis
1985	Employer Award for Efforts in Employment of Mature Disabled Workers	Aging in America Projects with Industry Council	New York City
1985	Employment of the Handicapped	Center for Career Advncemnt New York University	New York City
1985	Outstanding Employer of the Year	U.S. Department of Health and Human Services	Grand Rapids Marriott Hotel (Michigan)
1985	Employer of the Year	Private Industry Council of South Florida	Miami Airport & Biscayne Hotels Miami In-Flite
1985	Employer of the Year	Assn. of Retarded Citizens	Oak Brook
1985	Employment of the Handicapped	State of New Jersey	Vince Lombardi Service Area Restaurant
1985	First Employer of the Year	Illinois Association for Retarded Citizens	Schaumburg
1985	Employer of the Year	Ohio Association for Retarded Citizens	Saga/Marriott
1985	First Employer of the Year	Illinois Association for Retarded Citizens	O'Hare
1986	President's Award	National Rehabilitation Assn.	Marriott Corporation
1986	Michigan Handicapper Award	Office of the Governor	Saga/Marriott Michigan

APPENDIX B

YEAR	AWARD	PRESENTED BY	RECEIVING UNIT
1986	Special Service Award	Goodwill Industries, Miami	Miami In-Flite
1986	Employer of the Year	Goodwill Industries of Chicago and Cook County	Saga/Marriott
1986	Mayor's Award for Hiring Handicapped Students	Mayor of Pasadena, California	Big Boy West
1986	Employment of the Handicapped	School Districts in Vista, Huntington Beach, and North Orange County, California	Big Boy West
1986	Special Service Awards	State of Illinois	Chicago O'Hare
1986	Special Service Awards	State of Illinois	Schaumburg
1986	Special Service Awards	State of Illinois	Oakbrook
1986	Grand Award - Best of Accessible Boston	Adaptive Environment Center of the Mass. College of Art	Copley Place
1986	Best Accessible Citation	Adaptive Environment Center of the Mass. College of Art	Copley Place
1986	Employer of the Year	Life Development Institute of Phoenix	Mountain Shadows Marriott Hotel
1986	Certificate of Appreciation	Oak Park and River Forest High School Work Experience Program	Oakbrook
1986	President's Award	National Rehabilitation Association	Marriott Corporation
1986	Business of the Year	Easter Seals Society of Dade County	Miami Airport Hotel
1986	Rehab Service Award	Illinois Rehab Association Northeast Chapter	O'Hare
1986	Mayor's Certificate of Appreciation	New York Mayor's Committee	New York - Marquis
1986	Rehabilitation Service Award	Illinois Rehab Association	Oakbrook
1986	Rehabilitation Service Award	Illinois Rehab Association Northeast Chapter	Oakbrook
1986	Employer of the Year	Iowa Governor's Office	Des Moines
1986	Outstanding Business Contributor	Private Industry Council	Schaumburg

YEAR	AWARD	PRESENTED BY	RECEIVING UNIT
1986	Award of Excellence	Illinois Council on Vocational Education	Schaumburg
1986	Organization Rehab Service Award	Illinois Rehab Association	Schaumburg
1986	Certificate of Appreciation	Goodwill Industries	Austin Capital
1987	Employers Award	Phoenix Mayor's Committee on the Handicapped	Mountain Shadows
1987	Employer of the Year	Association for Retarded Citizens	Greensboro - High Point Hotel
1987	Certificate of Appreciation	Oak Park and River Forest High School Work Experience Program	Oakbrook
1987	Certificate of Appreciation	Goodwill Industries	Miami Airport Hotel
1987	Recognition Award	Tennessee Chapter for Effective Advocacy for Citizens with Handicaps	Nashville
1987	Certificate of Appreciation	Riverside County Office of Education (Student Work Training Partnership Program)	Rancho Las Palmas
1987	Employer of the Year	Retarded Citizen State of Georgia	Atlanta Marquis
1987	Certificate of Appreciation	California Rehab Dept.	Desert Springs
1987	Recognition Award	Colorado Coalition for the Disabled	Denver (West)

SELECTED SOURCES

Books and Monographs:

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People* . New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972.

Arrington, Leonard J. *Great Basin Kingdom.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958.

_____ and Davis Bitton. *The Mormon Experience.* New York: A. A. Knopf, 1979.

Baritz, Loren. *The Servants of Power: A History of the Use of Social Science in American Industry.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960.

Edwards, Richard. *Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century.* New York: Basic Books, 1979.

Gottlieb, Robert and Peter Wiley. *America's Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1984.

Heinerman, John and Anson Shupe. *The Mormon Corporate Empire.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1985.

Kohn, Melvin L. *Class and Conformity: A Study in Values* Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1969.

Larson, Gustave O. *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood.* San Marino, California: Huntington Library, 1971.

The Law and Disabled People: Selected State and Federal Laws Affecting Employment and Certain Rights of People With Disabilities. The President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, with the New York University School of Law and the New York State Advocate for the Disabled. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1980.

Lenihan, John. *Disabled Americans: A History.* The President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, Washington, D. C. Performance Bicentennial Issue, November-December 1976; January 1977. Monograph.

Levering, Robert, Milton Moskowitz, and Michael Katz. *The 100 Best Companies to Work For in America* . New York: Signet Edition, 1987.

O'Brien, Robert. *Marriott: The J. Willard Marriott Story.* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1987.

Rights of Passage: Final Report of the Task Force on The Transition from School to Work for Montgomery County Students with Disabilities . Rockville, Maryland, Montgomery County Public Schools, Montgomery County Government, September, 1985.

Scott, William G. and David K. Hart. *Organizational America.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979.

Whyte, William H., Jr.. *The Organization Man.* New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1957.

Work, Technology, and Education. Walter Feinberg and Henry Rosemont, Jr., editors. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975.

Work, Youth, and Schooling: Historical Perspectives on Vocationalism in American Education. Harvey Kantor and David B. Tyack, editors. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1982.

Articles, Pamphlets, and Periodicals:

About Jobs and Mentally Retarded People . The President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped. National Association for Retarded Citizens. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1979. Pamphlet.

Anderson, James D. "Education as a Vehicle for the Manipulation of Black Workers." *Work, Technology, and Education,* Walter Feinberg and Henry Rosemont, Jr., editors. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975, pp. 22-27.

Bies, John D. "The Impact of Federal Legislation on Special Vocation Needs Programming." *Handbook of Special Vocational Needs Education,* Gary D. Meers, editor. Aspen Systems Corporation: Rockville, Maryland, 1980.

Blum, Ernest. "Marriott Assails Hike in Minimum Wage, Benefits." *Travel Weekly.* October 5, 1987, p. 20.

Burton, Louise F., Janice A. Chavez, and Charles J. Kokaska. "Employability Skills: A Survey of Employers' Opinions." *Journal of Rehabilitation.* July-August-September, 1987, pp. 71-74.

Carey, Max L. "Occupational Employment Growth Through 1990." *Monthly Labor Review,* Vol. 104, August, 1981, pp. 34-40.

Christensen, Carol A., Michael M. Gerber, and Robert B. Everhart. "Toward a Sociological Perspective on Learning Disabilities." *Educational Theory.* Vol. 36, Fall, 1986, pp. 317-331.

Engel, Paul G. "'Making it' the Marriott Way." *Lodging Hospitality,* October, 1987: pp. 113-116.

Feeley, Frank G., Harry G Foden, and Lee A. Warren. "Technological Innovation in Service Industries." *Economic Development Review.* Summer, 1986, pp. 7-9.

Fullerton, Howard N., Jr.. "The 1995 Labor Force: A First Look." *Monthly Labor Review,* Vol. 103, December, 1980, pp. 48-58.

Gold, Marc W. "Research on the Vocational Habilitation of the Retarded: The Present, The Future." *International Review of Research in Mental Retardation,* edited by N. R. Ellis, Vol. 6. New York: Academic Press, 1973, pp. 97-147, as cited in James Ward, et al., "Vocational Preparation for the Mildly Retarded: An Investigation into Employment Patterns and Related Factors." North Ryde, Australia: Macquarie University, 1976. Pamphlet.

Kennedy, Maryellen. "Movin' out on the Eden Express." Reprinted from *Tables,* National Restaurant Association, August, 1985.

Lee, Daniel R. "How They Started: The Growth of Four Giant Hotels." *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly.* May, 1985, pp. 22-32.

Levinson, Marc. "Labor Scarcity is Costly and Will Get Worse." *Economic Perspective,* August 1986.

Mann, Warren and Alan Gregory. *The Employment Environment for Mildly Intellectually Handicapped Young People* . Clayton Victoria, Australia: Monash University, 1981. Pamphlet.

Marcouiller, Judith A., Christopher A. Smith, and James E. Bordieri. "Hiring Practices and Attitudes of Foodservice Employers Toward Mentally Retarded Workers." *Journal of Rehabilitation.* July-August-September, 1987, pp. 47-49.

Martin, Frances. "Great Chains of the World. *Hotels and Restaurants International.* July/August, 1985, pp. 48-92.

Marriott Hotels-Resorts. *Employee Handbook.* [n.p.], October 1986. Pamphlet.

"Marriott Sees Green in a Graying Nation: Life-Care Facilities hold both Promises, Risks." *Wall Street Journal,* February 11, 1988, pp10, 11(E).

Marriott World. In-House Periodical.

McBride, N. C. "Firms Find It Pays to Hire the Retarded." *Christian Science Monitor,* February 11, 1987, pp. 1, 5.

McDonald, Michele. "Marriott Assails Proposal to Revise Tax Structure." *Travel Weekly.* June 10, 1985, PP. 3, 8.

Morner, Aimee. "A Difference of Opinion." *Fortune* , January 29, 1979, pp. 101-103.

Moskowitz, Daniel B. "Marriott: Crusader for a Moral America." *Business Week,* January 21, 1985.

SELECTED SOURCES

Nelan, A. Philip. "Placements: Rising Toward the Crest." *American Rehabilitation.* National Restaurant Association Reprint. [n.d.], 5 pp.

Nelan, A. Philip. "Staffing Food Service Operations." *American Rehabilitation.* National Restaurant Association Reprint. April-May-June, 1983. 4 pp.

Nelson, Wayne F. "Washington's Best Employers," *The Washingtonian,*, p. 239.

"NRA Hire-the-Handicapped Campaign Gets Results." *Nation's Restaurant News,* November 18, 1985, p. 38.

Out of the Job Market: A National Crisis Washington. D. C.,: The President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, n. d. Pamphlet.

Peters, Jim. "Alternative Labor Pool." *Restaurant Business.* September 1, 1987, pp. 183-187.

Radwell, Steven. "Handicapped Fill Staff Gaps Due to Dwindling Youth Pool." *Hotel and Motel Management.* Vol. 195. Aparil 10;, 1980, pp. 1, 20-21.

Ricklefs, Roger. "Faced with Shortages of Unskilled Labor, Employers Hire More Retarded Workers." *Wall Street Journal,* 21 October 1986.

Schill, William J. and David B. Ryckman. "Career Education for the Retarded?" *Canadian Vocational Journal.* Vol. 15, February, 1980, pp. 9-10, 32.

Smart, William E. "Workers with Something Extra." *Washington Post,* Tuesday, January 20, 1987, p. E5.

"Special Teens Fill Hotel Ranks." *TIPS: Northern Cook County Training Investments with the Private Sector.* Vol. 2, Spring, 1986, p. 1.

A Note on Confidential Contacts:

Confidential contacts (including interviews and conversations) and observations were made at twelve Marriott properties in the following states: Arizona (3); Georgia (1); Louisiana (1); Maryland (2);Washington (3); Washington, D. C. (2).